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# **West Europe Report**

**No. 1674**

**Turkish Terrorist and Sectarian Violence**



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29 December 1980

## WEST EUROPE REPORT

No. 1674

## TURKISH TERRORIST AND SECTARIAN VIOLENCE

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 15-31 Jul, 1-10 Aug 80

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## Anarchy Report

[15 Jun 80, p 6]

[Text] Corum

It was the morning of 29 May when the shouts at the Gulalibey ward were first heard. Pro-NAP [Nationalist Action Party] Idealist students, gathered before the Industrial Vocations Lycee and the Commercial Lycee, were trying to keep leftist students from entering the school grounds and shouting, "Blood for Blood, Revenge," and other slogans. Military units intervened before a serious clash could erupt, calmed the students and everyone entered classes.

About 1730 in the evening of the same day, student groups appeared around the watch tower. They soon began to march through Corum shouting, "Allah, Allah," "Blood for Blood, Revenge," "Corum Will Be a Graveyard for Communists" and "God Is Great." The Municipal [Price] Adjustment Retail Store, the KOY-KOOP [Union of Cooperatives for Village Development and Other Agricultural Goals] outlet, the offices of the newspaper CORUM, a poolhall and several stores and cars which belonged to people known as pro-RPP [Republican People's Party] were destroyed by the marching students.

At about the same time, a group of people from the leftist groups at the Milonu area, having heard about the march and concerned about a possible attack on their part of town, began to march in the direction of the Military Recruitment Center.

The two opposing groups met head on at about 1930 hours. They went at each other with guns, rocks and sticks. By the time gendarme units arrived, an RPP man, identified as Servet Yildirim, was killed and 12 people were hurt. In the face of the rightist assault, not only the members and sympathizers of the leftist factions--namely, the DEV-YOL [Revolutionary Road], PYA [Progressive Youths Association] and SYU [Socialist Youths League]--but also the followers of the legal leftist organizations, such as the TLP [Turkish Labor Party] and the TSWP [Turkish Socialist Workers Party], in the Milonu ward and the surrounding areas, came to the realization that they had to form a united front.

To ward off future attacks, these groups, with the help of the residents of the area, began a major defense preparation. Barricades went up on all the major streets and side roads leading to Milonu, Bahcelievler and Karsiyaka areas of Corum.

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[See page 119 Guide to Abbreviation]



The first attack on the barricades was launched from a red Murat car, bearing the license number 19 AN 705 which, as discovered later, belonged to a tractor registered in the Osmanli County. Gunmen inside the car fired upon the barricades at Milonu. There were repeated attacks on the barricades through the night. The men at the barricades returned the fire each time. The exchange lasted all night. Later, an eyewitness recalled:

"So many shots were fired that night that I am sure, with the amount of ammunition spent on that single night, we could have invaded Cyprus three times."

Corum began the following day with an ominous incident. At 0830 hours, a policeman was killed, and his partner wounded seriously, at the Milonu ward. The wounded officer was taken to a hospital where he gave an account of the happening.

"My friend and I were going to work," he said. "We ran into a leftist ambush. My friend was shot and martyred."

The dead officer, Muzaffer Yesilyurt, was known by most as a leftist, while the wounded officer, Mehmet Bektas, was reputedly a rightist. According to a report, the policemen were not fired upon by leftists. Officer Bektas demanded that the barricades be removed from the roads. Officer Yesilyurt disagreed. The argument led to a shootout and Bektas killed his friend, upon which the leftists at the barricades fired and wounded Bektas.

Meanwhile, Rafet Ucelli, governor of Corum, gave the press the following account of the incident:

"The incident that resulted in the death of two police officers happened at 0830 hours. The officers, whose names are Abdurrahman Kocak and Muzaffer Yesilyurt, had just left their homes at the Kale ward to report to work when terrorists, whose identities have not been determined yet, shot them in cold blood with automatic weapons. The officers were caught by surprise and did not have time to draw their own guns. They were killed on the spot. Officer Yesilyurt was married and had one child. Officer Kocak was also married with five children. Their attackers fled the scene."

Officer Mehmet Bektas turned in his gun, along with his friend's, to security authorities. Ballistic tests would have provided a clue to what had really happened. The prosecutor requested from the Directorate of Security to send the guns over, but 8 days after the incident, the guns still had not reached the prosecutor's office. Some claimed that it was easy to keep the truth from coming out by replacing the barrel of the gun. Certain people needed time, they said, and that is why the guns had not been forwarded to the prosecutor's office as requested.

There was more bad news. About 600 meters from the spot where the two policemen were shot, another officer, identified as Abdurrahman Kocak, was killed. Preliminary investigation indicated that the spent shells discovered on the scene were from a long-barreled gun, and that Officer Kocak was killed while chatting with a friend.

The killing of the two policemen increased the tension in Corum. The then Governor Rafet Ucelli declared a curfew beginning at 1100 hours. Meanwhile, at the Milonu ward, members of leftist groups and residents, expecting an assault at any moment, took turns manning the barricades.

On Saturday, 31 May, Deputy Minister of Interior Orhan Eren and Commander of the Gendarme General Sedat Celasun arrived in Corum and attended the funeral of the policemen. During the rites, several police officers threw themselves on the ground and shouted, "Revenge. Revenge."

Also on Saturday, the governor and the commander of the Amasya brigade visited the Milonu area and asked the residents to remove the barricades, assuring them that "the security of life and property is guaranteed by the army." After lengthy arguments, the residents, assisted by the municipality, cleared the roads.

While the deputy minister and counsellor of the Interior Ministry were meeting with the head of the Directorate General of Security and the commander of the gendarme forces at the garrison "to assess the situation," several RPP parliamentarians, meeting at the municipal building, were trying to decide what should be done about the reports that two youths were severely beaten and taken to a hospital. Two of the parliamentarians, Çorum Deputies Sukru Butun and Ethem Eken, went on the street and asked several police officers to investigate the report. An argument ensued and gradually widened as rightists joined in. RPP Deputy Sukru Butun drew his gun, but was disarmed by the police. Deputy Butun later accused the police of "helping the rightist terrorists, instead of stopping them from attacking us."

Each time reports of a new incident reached the people, barricades went up, then, dismantled, to be set up once again upon receipt of another report. About 2300 hours, steady gunfire could be heard around Milonu, Karsiyaka, Terlemezev and SII [Social Insurances Institution] wards. At the Senyurt ward, two sisters--Iclal and Nadire--who had stepped into their balcony to look around, were wounded by random shots. Explosions were heard and fires erupted all over the town until the next day.

[16 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Corum Police, 'We Cannot Go out Now'

It was past midnight. The date was 1 June. A group of gunmen arrived in a red Murat car, sprayed the gendarme garrison with rifle fire and fled in the direction of İskilip.

A gendarme lieutenant general contacted the police station at the Market Place [presumably in Corum] and ordered the police to go out and get the car. An officer on duty at the police station replied, "We cannot go out now. You better get in touch with the İskilip police."

Before the day was over, a grocery store, owned by Halil Icken, an Alawi [Turkish Shi'ite], and a wholesale food store on the Hidirlik Street in the Cesni ward, owned by Huseyin Solak, another Alawi, were burned down. It was also on 1 June that six stores were vandalized and the offices of the CORUM newspaper were damaged one more time. That was not all. A house on the Yenidogan Street in the Gulalibey ward was set on fire. It belonged to Ismail Caglar, an Alawi. Turan Turkan's apartment unit in the same building was heavily damaged by fire and smoke. The fire at Gulalibey signalled the beginning of attacks on private homes.

As the Alawi stores and homes were burning, Durmus Yalcin, counselor of the Interior Affairs Ministry, announced that Governor Rafet Ucelli and Director of Security

Nail Bozkurt were being recalled. Yuksel Cavusoglu, director general of personnel at the ministry, was named acting governor, and Erdem Yurtsever assumed the security job, also in an acting capacity. On the day that the new appointments were announced, a van was burned in the Agir Sanayi ward and Muttalip Ozpamuk's grocery store in the Ulukavak ward went up in flames. Ismail Gozdek was more fortunate, the fire at his house at the Demetevler ward was put out in an hour, but not before the structure suffered extensive damage.

One significant development in that particular 24-hour period was the nighttime arrest of a number of people. About 70 people from the villages of Turkler and Ayaz accidentally ran into a military unit. A search yielded a number of hunting rifles and handguns and 12 of the 70 were taken into custody. The 12 were suspected of being on "an Alawi hunt," and were placed under arrest following an interrogation.

Meanwhile, Selahattin Ardic, apparently alarmed by the violent incidents, decided to return to his village. His worst fears came true as he began his journey back home. An armed group dragged him out of the vehicle and shot him. The badly wounded young man was taken by his family to the Corum State Hospital where doctors informed his family that Ardic, having lost considerable amount of blood, was in dire need of a transfusion. The family went out to find the proper type of blood and found it, but on their way back to the hospital, a rival group stopped them and several armed men broke the bottles containing the blood. In the meanwhile, Ardic died of his wounds in the hospital.

Another casualty was Ismail Gerdan who, overwhelmed over the events in his hometown, died of a heart attack.

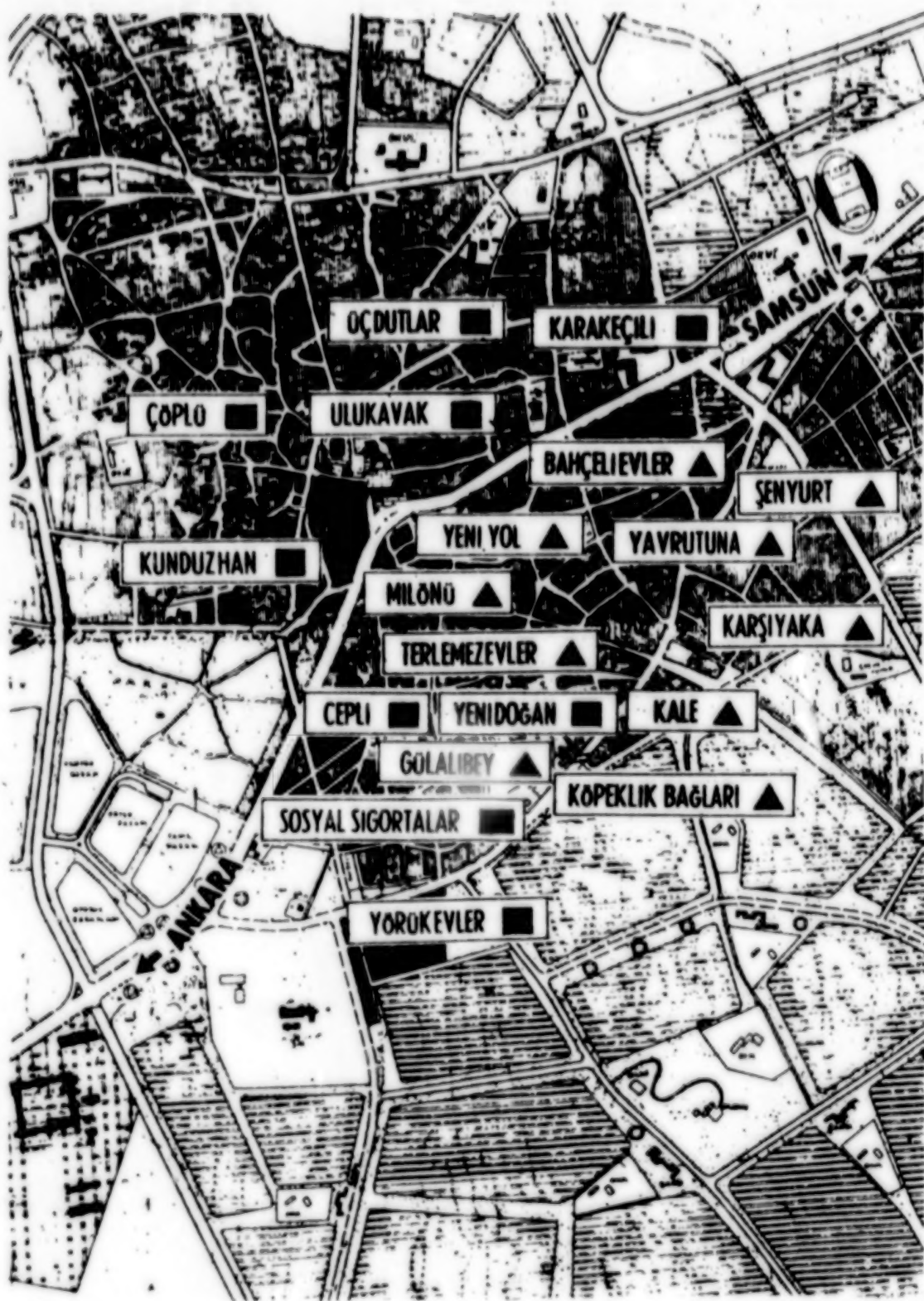
Meanwhile, acting on a tip about a body at a construction site at the Mutluevler ward, the police rushed to the site and found the body of a young man in an excavated area. The young man's hands were tied behind him and there were 18 slugs in his body. He was identified as Yahya Baran, a rightist. A search in the area brought the police team upon another body. The second body was identified as that of Osman Aksu, who had been blindfolded and had his hands tied behind his back. An autopsy revealed that both men were killed 2 days earlier. One of them--Osman Aksu--was not from the Corum area. The other--Yahya Baran--was from a village of the Corum Province. He worked as a driver and was known as a rightist. Preliminary investigation also brought to light that Baran was a close relative of Adnan Baran, an escaped convict, who had been found guilty of a variety of crimes, including murder and unlawful seizure of property, and had been sentenced to 45 years in prison.

On 2 June, a heavily armed military battalion from Ankara arrived in Corum, whereupon the situation appeared to improve.

The initial explosion of the tense situation into violent clashes left 7 people dead and more than 20 wounded, and fortunately the madness soon dissipated. Operations conducted during and after the clashes and other incidents resulted in the detainment of 240 people, 122 of whom were subsequently placed under formal arrest. The search operations in the aftermath of the incidents yielded 27 handguns and 638 shells, 74 hunting rifles and 545 shells, one German-made carbine and 48 shells, 6 knives, 5 axes and a large number of iron rods.

When the violence subsided, officials lifted the curfew. Despite repeated announcements that restrictions were lifted, people were afraid to go out of their homes,





Triangles indicate leftist-controlled, quadrangles rightist-controlled wards of Corum.



even the government employees refused to report to work. Officials discovered that around 650 families had already left their homes and moved out of town. By the time a tense quiet settled in the city, a population shift had taken place. Alawis had moved to the parts of town under leftist control. Those are Terlemezevler, Senyurt, Karsiyaka, Kopeklik Baglari, Nadik, Yavrutuna, Yeniyol, Bahcelievler, Kale and Gulalibey. Meanwhile, rightists residing in those areas had moved out and resettled in rightist-controlled Kunduzhan, Yenidogan, Sosyal Sigortalar [Social Insurances Institution] development, in the vicinity of the SII Hospital, Kurukopru, Yorukevler, Karakeçili, Cepli, Coplu, Ulusavak and Ucdutlar. Corum had become a divided city, no different from Berlin, with the Gazi Boulevard as the demarcation line between the southern and northern sectors of Corum.

There are 212 villages, 72 of them Alawi, under the central administration of the province. Not much was known about what was going on in the villages, except that all the Alawi villages were still under siege.

According to democratic and impartial sources in Corum, "the far right movement had escalated in three countries, namely, Osmancik, Iskilip and Alaca. The rightist movement encouraged religious differences in those counties, thereby creating an atmosphere in which rightist militants were able to enhance their number and strength.

"The rightist propaganda in Iskilip prepared a wide rightist base in the county. NAP leader Alpaslan Turkes visited the area in April and addressed a rally. The intensity of violence increased in Corum after that rally.

"When the gendarme forces searched the car of the NAP deputy chairman in Iskilip, Ahmet Temiz, on 25 October 1979, they found in a sack 2 handguns, 1,394 shells, 5 gelatin dynamites, 3 blasting caps, a hunting rifle and 23 shells, and a large number of lapel pins.

"Another incident which presumably demonstrates the support given to rightists took place on 11 June [1980?], when a man, identified as Ahmet Kir, was arrested in the village of Caykoy, in the county of Bayat, on charges of selling weapons to rightists. Security forces, which surrounded the village to catch the man, were fired upon. Kir, who was wounded during the exchange, yelled, 'Communist are raiding the village,' and the villagers began to fire on the gendarme, seriously wounding Senior Police Superintendent Abdulkadir Taskin, and also wounding a commando officer and a private.

"Another 'liberated zone' under rightist control is the Alaca County. As soon as the county's NAP-backed mayor took office, he changed the street names. Some of the streets were renamed after rightist militants. On 1 June, the timberyard of Ali Yurt was burned down. A policeman, by the name of Yusuf Bulut, and another man, identified as Arif Aygun, were charged and placed under arrest in connection with that incident. The extreme right isolated the villages under their control by blocking the roads. They stopped traffic and searched the vehicles. The Cemilbes-Corum highway remained closed to traffic for hours. Alawis in the area could not leave their homes or villages."

[17 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] People Are Still Scared

NAP Deputy Chairman Gun Sazak's murder in Ankara on the night of 27 May 1980 triggered in Corum a wave of bloody terrorist acts that climaxed on 29 May in a massacre. By 2 June, the military was in firm control of the city and a semblance of normalcy returned, if only temporarily.

It gave the impression that terrorism had been stopped while, in fact, what had stopped was mass terrorism, because individual acts of terrorism continued.

Reports of killings and kidnappings were still coming in. Also coming in were the reports of migration.

Necati Goktas, a leftist employed at the SII Hospital, was kidnapped by a group of people on 25 June. His body was discovered a day later in a drainage canal near Elvancelebi, a village controlled by rightists.

Necati Goktas had asked, and had been granted, sick leave from his employers when the atmosphere in Corum grew tense. His leave having expired, he had returned to work. He had feared for his life and what happened to him justified his fears. His limp body was dumped one morning in a drainage canal.

Violence continued on a lower scale within the city. People were stopped on the streets and forced to produce identification. There were reports of numerous beatings. In the Milonu ward, where armed right-wing activists could not go, residents were in a state of fearful anticipation. Shopkeepers, government employees, workers did not dare go back to work. There was no security of life in the city.

On 23 June, when the people of Corum woke up in the morning, the first item of news they heard was the discovery of two bodies. The body of Kazim Guler, a leftist, was found near the old road to the village of Ekin, while the body of Seref Sahin, another leftist, turned up on the Bayat-Gokbogaz highway.

The day was not over when a tile plant owned by Adnan Ozejder, and an electrical shop, which belonged to Ali Okan, were bombed, allegedly, by armed rightwingers.

On 26 June, three Idealists attempted to kidnap Muharrem Unal, an RPP member, by forcing their way into the man's car, but their attempt was foiled by passersby who came to Unal's help.

Terrorist acts committed by individuals gave way to mass terrorism again on the night of 1 July.

Armed right-wing terrorists unleashed a series of attacks on 1 July in several parts of the town. Many Alawi homes and places of business were either destroyed or set ablaze. Telephone lines in the city were severed, bringing communications to a halt. Three people died during the incidents--Abdullah Sucu, a leftist, Mustafa Ozdemir and Adil Sakar, rightists. A large number of people suffered wounds. As the authorities rounded up 45 people in connection with the disturbances in the city, the body of a young man, later identified as Ali Kaya, was discovered on the road to the village of Turgutlu. Authorities, realizing that violence was escalating again, clamped down a curfew at 0600 hours in the morning of 2 July.

On the previous day, as right-wing activists were distributing communiques, calling on the residents to a "cihad" holy war, residents of the predominantly leftist wards of Milonu, Yavruturna, Kale and Terlemezevler were putting the barricades where they used to be and assigning armed sentries to key points.

On 2 July, there were scattered clashes between rightists and leftists which left a number of people wounded.

On 3 July, incidents continued despite the curfew. Bombings and armed attacks killed five people. One car and 15 houses were burned down. Fire engines, deliberately delayed by the people manning the barricades, could not reach the burning homes in time to save them.

When Acting Governor Yuksel Cavusoglu contacted Ankara at the height of the disturbances and was connected to the minister of the interior, the building that houses the governor's office was under rifle fire and the community police forces, transported from Kayseri and Anasya, were moving into various parts of the city.

In the city, the police discovered the body of Seydi Ozdemir, and outside the city limits, by the Yildiz Tile Factory on the road to Iskilip, they found another body, allegedly a leftist's, which could not be identified.

Corum Prosecutor of the Republic Ertem Turker announced that 81 people were taken into custody, and only 13 handguns, 11 hunting rifles and an automatic hunting rifle were confiscated. Prosecutor Turker described the atmosphere in the city as "ominously quiet."

On the day that the prosecutor made his announcement, a minibus on its way to the village of Yagunpelit was stopped as it crossed the Yorukevler ward and its 21 passengers were taken hostage. One of the hostages managed to escape and informed the authorities of the incident and the 20 remaining hostages were rescued.

Also on the same day, Hasim Keser, a rightist, was wounded in the Alaca County. A large group of rightist activists took to the streets to avenge the attack, destroyed about 50 homes and places of business. Eight people were hurt.

While rightwingers were rioting in Corum and Alaca, the village of Hisarkavak in the Meditosa County was raided by an armed group. Bektas Unal was killed during that raid and three others were wounded. Hisarkavak peasants managed to beat back the attack, drove to the county seat and staged a noisy protest demonstration. The situation was taken under control when the military sent in reinforcements into the county.

#### Provocations Climax on Friday

The second act of the bloody drama got underway in the evening on 1 July when armed rightwingers unleashed several attacks simultaneously. The climax of the drama was yet to come on Friday, 4 July.

It was on one of those days that the counselor of the Interior Ministry, Durmus Yalcin, sent a secret message to the governor of Corum, directing the governor to take steps against "provocateurs." The message, which was sent on behalf of the minister of the interior, and carried the identification number 11.1.19/1,500, was as follows:



"It was learned that villages and peasants are involved, or are forced to participate in, the incidents in Corum, that they have been helping their relatives and friends in urban areas by either supplying arms or directly participating in the events. Therefore, it is deemed imperative that an uninterrupted control system should be instituted at the city gates opening to village roads, that the areas of Bahabey Woods and the water depot should be under constant watch, that check points should be set up on the road from the village of Kussaray to the Nadirpinar and Milonu wards. Caution is recommended in reference to the counties of Alaca, Sungurlu and Mecitozu, where the situation is described as sensitive. It is further recommended that, once the air cools down, a careful search for arms should be conducted in order to catch the provocateurs and the perpetrators of the events with their weapons. Counselor Durmus Yalcin, for the Minister of the Interior."

#### 'The Mosque Is Bombed'

In total contrast to Thursday, 3 July, which was marked with attacks, killings and vandalism, 4 July dawned on a quiet and peaceful city. It was, however, the calm before the storm, as the events of the later hours demonstrated. The city was unusually crowded. By noon, "strange," "tendentious" rumors were already circulating. Before the noon prayer service got underway, there were reports of a bombing at the Alaaddin Mosque. The announcement on the police radio gave credence to the reports. The command center was heard to inform the police units that the mosque was bombed. An army officer in the vicinity of the mosque, when informed of the message over the police radio, made repeated announcements that the report was untrue. No one heard him, or they heard him, but chose not to believe him.

Soon after the bombing reports began to circulate, sniper fire was opened from a building near the mosque. The shots were directed at the wards of Milonu and Etievler. An explosive device was hurled towards the mosque from a speeding car, but it did not cause any damage.

Inside the mosques, the noon prayer service was underway. A young man rushed into the Ulu Mosque, shouting, "The Alaaddin Mosque has been bombed. What are you waiting for?" He rushed out of the Ulu Mosque as fast as he had come in.

Similar scenes were being acted out in the other mosques all over the town. Armed right-wing activists were driven from one mosque to another to deliver provocative speeches to the people congregated for the noon service. "What are you waiting for?" they would shout. "Communists are bombing the mosques. Now is the time to become martyrs."

The speeches had their intended effect. People began to leave the mosques in groups, and with the right-wing activists urging them on, they began to march from the Sigortaevler area toward Terlemezler and Mutluevler, and from the Gazipasa Elementary School toward Yavruturna.

With shouts of "Allah, Allah," the marchers damaged or set afire a number of homes and businesses owned by leftists or Alawis along the route. In all, over 100 houses and stores were either destroyed or burned.

As the crowd, guided by armed rightwingers, neared the Milonu ward of the Alawis, it ran into a barrage of shots from behind the barricades. A police panzer arrived, but it was of no help. By then, both sides were firing their guns. The clash cost



Huseyin Ozdemir and Mustafa Yildirim their lives. Both were teachers. Another casualty was a woman, Hatem Durman. Scores were wounded. One of the wounded, Suleyman Atlas, a medical student, subsequently died at the SII Hospital, where he was taken. Eyewitnesses claimed that the dead were killed by fire from the police panzer.

The death of the medical student Suleyman Atlas triggered considerable controversy. There were allegations that Atlas, who was taken to the SII Hospital, did not die of his wounds, which were described as not serious, but was tortured to death by rightists who were in control of the hospital. A hospital official, who asked to remain anonymous, told an investigating reporter, "The boy was covered with wounds. I cannot put it in the autopsy report, but I know he was tortured to death. You may report it."

Another reporter, identified as Saygi Ozturk, was attacked at the Terlemezevler ward, and then, taken to the SII Hospital where he underwent several hours of interrogation. Ozturk was finally rescued by an army captain who happened to visit the hospital.

Incidents that began with Friday's "mosque provocation" had gradually reached the proportions of a wholesale massacre. New bodies were discovered as time went by. The second act of the bloody scheme put into practice in Corum cost the lives of 26 people.

That the violence in Corum began with an isolated incident, but spread and intensified steadily and rapidly gave the impression that there was a carefully planned provocation. Individuals, blinded with hatred for the other side, be it the Alawi or the Sunni community, were easily turned into crazed aggressors with a slight provocation.

Security forces were disappointingly inadequate during the incidents. When things got out of hand, an infantry unit from Amasya, a commando unit from the Kayseri Airborne Brigade and community police teams from Samsun were brought in to take control. The units on the ground were assisted by several low-flying jets.

#### Minister of Interior's Visit

Interior Affairs Minister Mustafa Bulcigil came to Corum after the violence died down. After a fact-finding tour of the city, Bulcigil held a press conference at the city hall. He said incidents started when the people of Corum were provoked by rumors of a bombing and shooting in a mosque." He said:

"Those rumors increased the tension already in the air. Some houses were set afire. Security forces intervened on time. People of the same religion and race, who have, for centuries, lived together, who have become one family, have been driven into a trap. People who are trying to pit Corum's people against one another will not be given a chance to succeed."

The ANK Administrative Council, in a communique following the incidents, said, "A deliberate attempt to create mass terrorism, nurtured by the overt provocations of the ruling party and its supporters, was in the works in Corum."

An air of quiet fear enveloped Corum. The "bloody incident," as it was referred to, which had killed 33 people at last count, was ostensibly over, but to those who lived it, the possibility that it may reoccur remained alive. Hundreds of people refused to go to work. Most of the government employees in Corum did not show up in their offices even when the payday came. Uncertain about what may happen to them if they showed up for work, people chose to give up their money and property. Extensive search operations yielded only a small number of weapons. Leaders of the incidents were no where to be found. The economy of Corum, which was not healthy to begin with, was in total "paralysis." No one was surprised to see it collapse under the weight of the damages that reached billions of liras. It was harvesting time, but the crops remained in the fields, drying up under the hot sun. Food producers were unable to bring their products into town, shortages of food items began. Meanwhile, a migration got underway. People either moved out of the city and the province, or moved from one section of town to another. Those with money moved out, those without money remained, but switched to a safer ground.

[18 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Yozgat

Is Yozgat a "liberated zone"? "No," according to Prime Minister Demirel. "Yozgat is not a liberated zone. Who is liberating Yozgat and from whom?"

RPP Chairman Bulent Ecevit, meanwhile, charges, "Yozgat is under fascist occupation."

The RPP's Provincial Chairman Harun Kurt says, "Yozgat is the NAP's liberated zone, and every RPP supporter and democratic resident of the town is the NAP's hostage." NAP Provincial Chairman Ruhi Bacanli snaps back, "People who call Yozgat a liberated zone are the ones who begrudge the NAP's achievements in town."

A reporter sent to Yozgat to cover the incidents in the wake of NAP Deputy Chairman Gun Sazak's death was stopped before he could leave the bus depot. Who was he? What business did he have here? What was he planning to do? The young reporter was unprepared for that kind of reception. "I would like to talk to the governor," he blurted out. They took him to the governor. When he left the governor's office, they were waiting for him.

"Did you talk to him?"

"Yes, I did."

"What are you planning to do next?"

"I would like to talk to the RPP's provincial chairman."

"He is a good man, but it will be better for you if you do not talk to him."

"It is my job."

"Don't see him. What else?"

"How about the NAP official?"

"Well, he is not here now. He is in Ankara."

"Then, I'll tour the city. Take some pictures."

"It will be better for you if you didn't do that either. Let's take you somewhere to eat."

"No, thank you."

"Let's take you back to the bus depot then."

The youths took the reporter to the bus terminal and put him on the bus to Ankara. The young reporter had realized by then that he had no other choice. He was MİLLİYET's Bulent Eskinat.

'Long Live Idealist Youths'

The incidents triggered by the killing of the NAP leader Gun Sazak seemed to be over. What happened in Yozgat? The answer can be found in the pages of Yozgat's ANADOLU GAZETESİ [Anatolian Gazette] of 29 May 1980. The editorial by Hilmi Gonenc went as follows:

"I never have had any ties to a political party or organization. In fact, I detest shifty politics, it goes against my nature. By the same token, I like to call things as I see them. If something is good, I like to call it good, if it is wrong, I point out that it is wrong. That brings us to yesterday's events in town.

"The murder of NAP Deputy Chairman Gun Sazak, a former minister of customs and monopolies, understandably created repercussions nationwide.

"In our province, Idealist youths demonstrated to express their reaction to the incident. The vacuum that the absence of the state has created was filled by the spirited, courageous Idealists.

"Idealist youths, guided by their strong beliefs, had stores and business closed. Townspeople, except myself, retreated, like cats, behind the closed doors of their homes. Yozgat residents conceded defeat before the courage of those youths. They had to. There was no state. There was no political power. The Idealist youths were in power in Yozgat for 1 day. Long live the Idealist youths.

"They used no arms, but they had Yozgat's 40,000 people in their power. I congratulate them. The state ignored the problem the youths did not. All we had was a puppet administration. The youths filled the power vacuum. They humbled everyone.

"I am a soldier through and through. I do not know what fear is. That is why I admired those courageous young men. When the lions come out, the cats naturally run away and hide. I congratulate the youths once more."

Who were the cats the writer is talking about? The people? RPP supporters, a majority of whom are Alawis? According to the writer, Idealist youths, "the lions," had the stores and businesses shut down and had filled the vacuum left by the nonexistent state. Abdulkadir Baran, chairman of the Idealist Road Association's Yozgat

chapter, offered a different version of what happened. "Naturally, there was a strong reaction to Gun Sazak's death," he said. "Shopkeepers appreciated those feelings. They closed their stores and hung out black banners."

#### 'First, They Held Special Prayer Services'

RPP Provincial Chairman Harun Kurt provided still another version of the developments. "First, they held special prayer services in all the mosques. Then, youths, with black banners in hand, paraded through the streets, shouting 'Blood for Blood,' 'People Like Gun Do Not Die.' There were some government employees among them. They made the shopkeepers close their doors. Their primary target was our party building. They wrote their slogans on the windows. Then, they pushed their way in and broke everything they could get their hands on, including a bust of Ataturk."

An impartial observer, who, for fear of his life, wished to remain anonymous, gave the following account of the events he witnessed after the news of Gun Sazak's death reached Yozgat:

"The day after Sazak was killed, intermediate- and high-school level students ran through the streets. They made all the right-wing shopkeepers close their shutters. Black banners were hung on the building where the governor's office is located. A policeman stood by a boy writing slogans on the wall, patted him on the back and pleaded with him to quit. It happened before my very eyes. He was saying, 'Enough, brother, there isn't any empty space left on the wall.' Everyone locked himself in his house. Then, a commando unit came in. The commandos manned the streets to ensure the security of life and property in the city. Government officials generally try to avoid getting involved. There are also some who are far right or NAP supporter. They have a great deal to do with the heightening of tension and uneasiness in the city. The governor wants to create an image of impartiality. Townspeople are fed up with it all, they'd rather ignore the whole thing. The top educational official is one of the extreme rightwingers here, he aggravates the restive air. There are allegations 80,000 liras are collected every month from the teachers assigned to the central county alone."

#### 'No One Left To Beat up'

From Governor Naim Ural down to the shopkeepers, teachers and party workers, everyone agrees on one point: There is no terrorism in Yozgat. There is no bloodbath here. There are no mass actions here. The city is quiet.

A 22-year-old man from Yozgat nods in agreement, "Yes, the city is quiet. There is no one left to beat up."

#### The Status of Alawis

The Alawis in Yozgat are in the minority and they complain that it is virtually impossible for revolutionaries, RPP supporters, or Alawis to live in Yozgat.

Ali Zeren is a patriarch of an established Alawi family of Yozgat. The 54 year old Zeren is the brother of RPP Deputy from Yozgat Veli Zeren, grandson of Kanabdal Inan Zeynel and the son of Zeynel Zeren, an "Alawi Dede" [religious patriarch]. Ali Zeren is also a member of the RPP Provincial Administrative Council. Like all other Alawis, he is very much concerned about the situation in Yozgat.



"I am an Alawi, but I know I have the love and respect of many Sunnis. We are one of the established families of Yozgat. We have lived here peacefully for many years. It has been only 2 years that we have had an Alawi-Sunni differentiation here. Our life today resembles that of a secret cell. There is no peace in the family, even the children have lost their peace of mind. I have a wide circle of good friends in Yozgat, and yet our home has been bombed and shot at. We live under a constant threat. I cannot send my children to a high school here. I send them to Ankara. I had two men guarding my house, but 20 days ago, the security chief was pressured into withdrawing the guards. Now, we have no security of life. We try to protect ourselves on our own. We take turns at guard duty."

#### Two Guns for Protection

An Alawi man of about 60 said, "I carry with me two guns when I leave the house. At night, my wife and I take turns sleeping. One of us stays by the window to watch." Then, he added:

"We are living like stateless people in our own country. Believe me, refugees fare better than us. A boy of 10 or 11 came by the house several days ago with a bucket of paint and a brush. He insisted on painting the letters N-A-P on our door. We had to plead with him to change his mind, but he painted the letters all the same."

#### Alawis Move Away

We interviewed many Alawis in Yozgat. All were upset, troubled about the intimidating treatment they had to suffer. Many Alawis have moved out of the city, they told us. Their grievances are as follows:

"Alawis cannot go downtown for shopping. We cannot go to the bus depot if we ever wanted to go to Ankara. We have to go to one of the villages on the Ankara road and take the bus there. We cannot take our sick to a hospital. They beat up the driver who takes us there, as well as the sick man's relatives. There is hardly anyone in the hospitals outside of NAP sympathizers. Well-to-do Alawis are sending their kids to schools in neighboring provinces or counties. Many Alawi families are moving away from Yozgat. Furniture builder Yusuf Eryilmaz moved to Istanbul, Camoglu Etem Biter, who owns a transportation firm, took his family and moved to Ankara. Suref from the Sarioren village and his family sold their wholesale business and went to Ankara. Mustafa Ciftci of the Arap village left his house and land, picked up his family and got out of Yozgat. Hasan, Sahin, Ihsan, Ali Riza, Mete, Hasan Kaya of the Zeren family have all migrated. Out of 3,000 Alawis we had here, there are no more than 1,200 now. Haci Aslan and his sons--that makes four families--have moved to Ankara. There was a widow, Server. She had two children, a girl and a boy. Both were teachers here in Yozgat. They had no peace of mind. Both kids asked for a transfer. They were turned down. They resigned and moved out. We cannot think of the names of hundreds of others. Some of the homes they left behind were taken over by the so-called nationalist youths. We went to the governor and to the prosecutor and reported the situation. We could not get the youths out of those houses, they are still occupied."

[19 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Yozgat: Home of the Only NAP Senator

According to impartial observers in Yozgat, both the NAP and the NSP [National Salvation Party] manipulate religious beliefs to suit their needs. So much so that religion has become an arena where the two political parties go all out to outdo each other. That is why, NAP Chairman Alpaslan Turkes and NSP Chairman Necmettin Erbakan have paid separate visits to Haci Ahmet Efendi, head of the locally very influential Naksibendi's [an order of dervishes]. Haci Ahmet Efendi, a 70-year-old scholarly and dignified gentleman, remains unswayed and refuses to support either side. Meanwhile, the Asir Turan, Osman Ozer and Zeren families, many of whose members are RPP officials, have gained considerable influence among the Alawis. Observers say the strong trend among the Alawis in favor of the RPP largely stems from the traditionally sound education the Alawis receive and provide for their children. Alawis, according to these observers, make up the vote potential of the RPP in the area.

Yozgat is a conglomeration of intermediate-level schools. There is virtually every type of intermediate-level school in the province. However, graduates of these schools generally fail the university entrance exams. They return home, disappointed, untrained and unemployed. They make an easy prey for one ideology or another. When the rightwingers established a firm control over the Yozgat area, Alawi families' children were barred from the schools in town. Economically well-off families sent their kids out of town. Violence, which was the order of the day in Yozgat schools, came to an abrupt end when the rightwingers took over the ideological control of the schools. As an RPP supporter put it, when rightists ran out of students to bully, they turned on the leftist and democratic teachers. Eventually, teachers of democratic or leftist leanings found life impossible in Yozgat. If assigned to Yozgat, they resigned, rather than work in Yozgat. The quality of education slipped. Some teachers were, allegedly, coerced by rightist students to give them passing grades.

Yozgat's nonaligned residents say, "People did not approve of any of those things, but they preferred to remain outside of it, even though, as parents, they were saddened by the situation."

Yozgat is near Ankara, but it still is an underdeveloped central Anatolian city. All that Yozgat ever received from Ankara was unproductive political arguments.

Even after 10 years of political activity, Yozgat, in terms of political philosophy, is "a river looking for a bed to run through," as one observer put it.

Its political structure resembles that of "the parliament," on a smaller scale. Yozgat has six deputies in the National Assembly. In the 1977 elections, Yozgat voters sent six deputies from five parties. The RPP had two, the JP [Justice Party], the NSP, NAP, and the Democratic Party had one apiece.

The outcome was the same in 1977, except a small variation. The RPP still had two deputies, but this time the JP had two elected also, while the NSP and the NAP still had one apiece.

Yozgat and its people are unlike any other province and its people. So far, almost all the political parties have been able to get at least one deputy elected in Yozgat. They include the TLP, the Democrat Party, the Democratic Party, the RPNP [Republican Peasants Nation Party], the NAP, the NSP, the RPP and the JP.

Some explain that phenomenon as "a translation of the movements of democratic ideas into ballots," but some claim that "the Yozgat people, who have not been able to reach a high level in cultural and economic development, tend to follow whoever puts more pressure on them."

Yozgat today is the bastion of the NAP and the Idealists. In the recent senate elections, the NAP led all other parties with 47,600 votes and elected not only a deputy but also a senator from Yozgat. The NAP's provincial officers are looking forward to the next elections with high expectations.

Ruhi Bacanlı, an attorney, who is the head of the NAP's provincial organization, says, "The NAP will elect two, or may be three, deputies from Yozgat in the next elections."

Yozgat is also one of the five provinces where the NAP elected a mayor.

How did the NAP organize so well in Yozgat? The answer varied according to the political view of the source. Sahin Saygi, the JP's provincial chairman, and also the chairman of the Yozgat Chamber of Commerce, gave the following answer:

"In the 1973 elections, the NAP elected three deputies in the entire country. One of the provinces where an NAP deputy was elected happens to be Yozgat. NAP officials ignored the other two provinces, which are Ankara and Adana, and selected Yozgat as their pilot project area. They decided to concentrate on Yozgat mainly because they can organize here with relative ease. Union activities, youth activities, all other activities are accelerated. We saw their efforts bear fruit in the latest municipal elections. I ran for mayor as the JP's candidate. We could not get a single parliamentarian to come down here, or have an official from the central organization pay us a visit and make a campaign speech on our behalf. Meanwhile, NAP Chairman Alpaslan Turkes himself came to Yozgat twice in the preelection days."

Attorney Ruhi Bacanlı, the NAP provincial chairman, answered the same question:

"The NAP's growth in Yozgat is a direct outcome of our people's work independent of all groups and individuals. The RPP, for example, made an issue of the Alawi-Sunni dispute for the sake of electing a deputy. We do not have a cosmopolitan society here. We have a close-knit community. Our policy is to champion the cause of the downtrodden. Perhaps, that's the secret to our success. We serve the people, and they, in turn, reward us."

The RPP Provincial Chairman Harun Kurt had an explanation different from the views offered by the representatives of the two rightist parties. He said:

"In the 1969 elections, Yozgat elected the very first TLP deputy, and in 1973, it was one of the three provinces to elect an NAP deputy. Then, in the 1979 senate elections, Yozgat became the first province to elect an NAP senator. Yozgat voters who had favored the left in 1969, surrendered all their votes to the right only 4 years later. Let us try to find the answer by reviewing some of the things that

happened here. Some of the people here left their homes and families and went abroad to work when they realized they were unable to cope with economic pressures. Then, when they made money, they wanted to invest in their hometown and help the province they still cared for. Self-seeking people in the governments of the day drove the workers' enterprises to the lap of some unsavory individuals. These people set up commercial firms and cooperatives and cheated the workers out of their money. In this atmosphere of economic deprivation, unemployment and exploitation, it was very easy for the NAP to lead the people in its direction by means of youth organizations and strike forces. They made Yozgat their liberated zone. That's correct, Yozgat is a liberated zone. RPP supporters and all others who still follow democratic ideals are their hostages."

[20 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Occupation or Success?

Servet Bora, the first senator the NAP elected in the 1979 elections, provided us with an explanation that differed a little, if at all, from whatever was already said by other NAP people. Bora said:

"The NAP began to lay down the foundation in Yozgat long before it undertook similar efforts in other provinces. The RPWP [predecessor of the NAP], under Alpaslan Turken's leadership, entered the elections in 1965 and polled 7,000 votes in Yozgat. I set up the first organization in the province. Everyone who works in the party today got his training beside me. Every one of them knows what the problems are. I am not a chieftain of a tribe. That's not how we got 74,000 votes. Our provincial organization presented the NAP to the people exactly as it is. That's all there is to it."

No Left Outside the RPP

There is an undeniable reality in Yozgat, and that is, there is no one, let alone an organization, of leftist views, except the RPP. To hear the ideas of organizations outside the right-wing circles, we had nowhere else to go but to the RPP.

We were standing before a building 300 meters from the Yozgat Provincial Administration. It housed an engineering services bureau. On the stone wall next to the entrance, we saw the initials IRA [Idealist Road Association]. You could not help but notice the letters. The small plate on the window of the engineering bureau said, "Hasan Kurt." The building with the huge IRA letters on its front wall belonged to Hasan Kurt, RPP provincial chairman.

We were ushered in by several young RPP members. They announced our arrival to Kurt. One of the young men gave us an envelop stuffed with photographs, which turned out to be the shots of the RPP building after it was burned down in the wake of Gun Sazak's death. They said they took the pictures to send to the prosecutor.

Harun Kurt walked in as we were studying the pictures. He was followed by a security officer who shadows him everywhere.

As soon as the social amenities were out of the way, Kurt asked us to accompany him to the headquarters of the RPP's provincial organization. "What you will see there



may inspire you to write something that will open the eyes of the people who should have come and seen it," he said. We, then, left for the building we had seen in the photographs.

The RPP provincial headquarters is housed in an easily accessible part of an office building. The front door and the windows of the building were covered with slogans, etched in white paint, declaring that "Men Like Gun Do Not Die" and "Blood for Blood, Revenge."

As we entered, we sensed an overpowering smell of something burning. Then, we saw the broken furniture and the remnants of an autographed oil portrait of Ismet Inonu. The scene in the inner room was sadder indeed. There, we saw our great leader Ataturk's broken bust and torn portrait.

#### Occupation or Success?

In Yozgat, there is talk of "an occupation" of everything from the National Education Directorate to the Municipal Administration, Health Department and the Security Directorate. NAP people claim the allegations are baseless and "fabrications of people who are envious of the NAP's achievements."

People we interviewed at a local clubhouse could not speak fast enough to go through their list of grievances. One man was particularly upset about the Yozgat Municipal Administration.

"There are a number of youths at the municipal administration working as a strike team," he said. "You see the tea garden below this building? The municipal administration supposedly rented the garden to Idealists. It is a strategic base. They named it '3 May Garden,' after the date of the Turkish holiday. You can see above the door an iron decoration shaped like three crescents [NAP emblem]. People sitting in that garden monitor the visitors into the provincial and special administration building. There have been times when those people, as a group, have attacked youths passing by. They also have set up in virtually all the wards of the city organizations they call 'Beautification Associations.' They keep the wards under control through those associations. The mayor was present at the inauguration of the associations."

#### What Are These "Beautification Associations"?

What are the Beautification Associations RPP people were talking about? What is their purpose? RPP people claim they are "bases, through which Idealists control the wards in the vicinity."

RPP Provincial Chairman of Yozgat Harun Kurt supplied the following information:

"NAP militants and Idealist youths have another arrangement in Yozgat whereby they can keep a tight control over the people. It is the Beautification Association. Militants based in these associations are able to monitor with relative ease whatever happens in their area and keep track of what everyone says, even thinks. For example, after a man was driven out of his home at the Eskipazar ward, his house was used to headquarter the Beautification Association, and the intimidation tactics in the area were directed from that house."

Yozgat Governor Naim Ural, when asked for his comments on the Beautification Associations, asserted that they were formed legally.

"These are legally formed groups which help the municipal government," he said. "We have received reports of operations outside their field of activity. I assigned several people to the case. They have been investigated, but at the moment we have no evidence to substantiate the accuracy of those reports."

#### No Sports Facilities for the Youth

There is no industry to speak of in Yozgat. In earlier centuries, the renowned Akdag silver-lead mine was within the limits of Yozgat, the city. The ore is still mined, yielding 15,000 tons of zinc-lead on the average per year. Several of the pits are also mined for manganese, chromite and fluocerite. The lignite mine at the Sorgun County yields about 32,000 tons of coal.\*

The Beer Factory employs over 400 and the YIBITAS [Yozgat Cement Factory], around 300 workers. There are also an animal feed and leather factories.

The province of Yozgat got its share of the cornerstone-laying ceremonies of the Nationalist Front governments in the recent past. Construction has been halted on the new fertilizer plant that the Nitrogen Industry, Inc. was to build at Sorgun. The 60 million-lira investment for an iron foundry at the Akdag mine site and the half-finished facilities of TAKSAN [expansion unknown] at Yerkoy remain as reminders of the cornerstone-laying mania.

#### Changing Economic Structure

In the fifties, the majority Sunnis largely lived in the city of Yozgat while the minority Alawis tended to settle in villages near urban centers. An outcome of the changing socioeconomic structure has been a steady increase, after the fifties, in the number of Alawis living in the Yozgat Province.

According to independent sources, Alawis moved into urban areas and set up commercial enterprises.

They were industrious, modest and polite people who conducted themselves honorably in their commercial relations with the townspeople. These attributes helped them carve themselves a position of respect in the town's modest economic life. Their commercial success, however, upset the existing balance at the expense of the natives and, naturally, evoked a reaction that gradually stiffened. Meanwhile, the number of idle youths were increasing as unemployment spread. The town had neither a decent sports facility, nor a cultural center. Young men, some young enough to be called children, were left alone to fend for themselves on the streets or in coffeehouses. Internal migration and emigration abroad had left numerous children without family discipline. The youth sector, largely populated by school dropouts and high-school graduates who, having failed in the university entrance exams,

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\*Meydan Larousse, Yozgat section. Also used in the preparation of this article are The Turkish Statistical Yearbook 1979, The Agricultural Structure and Production 1970-72, and The General Population Census, 26 October 1975, Yozgat, all of which are published by the State Statistics Institute of Turkey.

could not go back to school, was going through a crisis. Certain political circles immediately made plans to take relentless advantage of the "chaos" and hurriedly put those plans into practice. Initially, they guided the youth sector certain direction, and then, with the help of another sector, supported and fattened the youths. Now, these are the youths incited against the Alawis. They force themselves into Alawi shops and extort money, break the windows and insult the employees of the shops. Their leaders are no older than 22.

The initial reaction of the Alawi sector to these incidents was calm and patient. Recently, however, when threats were made against life and limb, the Alawi community became restive, then, frightened. Eventually Alawis gave up traveling from their villages to urban centers because they were either beaten up or harshly insulted when they came into the city. Migration got underway once again. This time, though, it was not in search of a job, but to protect the most natural human right of all, their right to live.

[21 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Allegations, Allegations

Yasar Erbaz, the mayor of Yozgat, ran in the 1977 local elections as an NAP candidate. He is a senior physics engineer by profession and worked 20 years at the State Meteorological Directorate before he went into politics in 1977. His "devotion" to the NAP began, he says, on the day that the NAP was founded.

We asked the mayor of Yozgat for his comments on the charges made by several political groups and the public in general.

To the charges that "the mayor conducted armed training at the Camlik area" and that "during one session, a municipal worker died when a bomb exploded in his hand," Mayor Erbaz replied:

"The Camlik area was once used by the gendarme forces for training. A temporary worker of the water supply depot found an artillery shell, obviously left there by the gendarme units. The worker died when the shell exploded in his hand. These are baseless charges. A group of people from the Office of the Chief of Staff came down and investigated the matter."

We asked the mayor, "What is your answer to the charges that the municipal administration building and the municipality's bread factory are being used as arms depots?"

He replied:

"Come with me and we will tour the municipal building together. If you find any evidence to support the charge, I am ready for the punishment it calls for. By the same token, if the charges cannot be substantiated, my accusers should be labeled the most dishonorable people in the world. We decided against allowing our armed workers assigned to the water depot to carry their arms when off duty, let alone use the facility as an arms depot. As to the allegation concerning the bread factory, those charges were made a year or so ago when the factory was rented by some people. Inspectors were sent there during the RPP era, but nothing was found to substantiate the charges."

Another allegation was that "armed militants were employed by the municipality." Mayor Erbas commented on that as follows:

"There were 10 policemen when I took office. Now, there are 11. Five of them are veteran officers. The rest were hired in our time. These charges of having militants on staff are slanderous."

Critics of the national education director voiced their concerns as follows:

"National Education Director Rifat Yuzbasioglu and his deputy Osman Dag are leading figures in the schemes launched in Yozgat. When the government changed, all the teachers were recalled and everything was reorganized. The Yozgat Lycee, the Commercial Lycee, The Imam-Hatib [religious instructors training] Lycee, Industrial Vocations Lycee, Health College and the High Islamic Institute were occupied. No one, other than the supporters of their ideals, was allowed in those schools. The government assigns leftist teachers to our area as a form of punishment, but none would dare report to work. There is an elementary school at the village of Koçek-köy which has 26 students and 8 teachers. Meanwhile, Çekerek's Saiköy Elementary School of 200 students has no teachers. The new lycee at Korgun, where Alawis and RPP supporters are in the majority, was closed. Korgun people took their complaint to the Council of State and had the lycee reopened, but they have no teachers, they won't assign anyone there."

Rightists in Yozgat admit that all the teachers and students in Yozgat schools are Idealists. They say:

"The current government uses Yozgat as a place of exile for leftists. We believe it is a misguided policy. The mere mention of Yozgat alarms the appointees. They don't even report to work. They generally prefer to work at schools in the predominantly leftist and Alawi counties of Bogazlayan and Çayralan. We want a nationalist cadre here, but the government continues to exile leftists to our area. It is wrong."

Do Lawbreakers Hide Out in Yozgat?

We were in a clubhouse generally frequented by RPP supporters and Alawis. We asked them:

"There hasn't been a killing here for some time. Three to four people die on the average every day in various parts of Turkey, but not in Yozgat. What is the explanation?"

The answers came at once from every direction. A teacher, formerly with the TOB-DER [Turkish Teachers' Unity and Solidarity Association], was given the floor:

"Any rightist who has broken the law, or killed a person, or escaped from prison, or is avoiding the police and runs the risk of being shot upon sight, unless he surrenders, hides out in Yozgat. Militants who hide out here return as soon as they carry out their strike missions. If these people cause a massacre, or kill so much as one person, they know they will become a target for counteraction. It would invite supervision and control, however slight. That's what they would like to avoid."



## The Eskipazar Story

The Eskipazar ward, a shantytown in Yozgat, has an interesting story. The residents of Eskipazar are from the Kiraksokullu village and they earn a living by providing the musical entertainment at wedding parties and other gatherings.

Eskipazar people have sold and moved out of the houses they built with their own hands and against great odds. What happened to them depends on who you are listening to--the RPP or the NAP.

The RPP people we interviewed told us the following about the exodus of the musicians from Eskipazar:

"There was an economic embargo against them for years. First of all, the circumcision parties they were hired for were repeatedly broken up. It came to a point where people were reluctant to hire them. Since these people did not know anything else to do to earn a living, they were left penniless. Their bakery was unable to continue baking bread and closed its doors. Their water was cut off. Their women were molested. In short, the people at Eskipazar were driven out of Yozgat."

The provincial chairman of the NAP and Yozgat's NAP mayor provided us with a totally different explanation.

Ruhi Bacanlı, the provincial party leader, said:

"Eskipazar residents fled the town out of fear. Actually, most of them were hunted militants. They were left leaderless when the RPP was toppled from power. They had to leave Yozgat, so that they would not have to answer for their crimes. That's all there is to it."

Mayor Yasar Erbaz's version of what happened at Eskipazar is as follows:

"These people terrorized the Yozgat Province under the RPP administration. For example, they would raid a wedding party if someone else was hired to play. They would not play the drums during the Ramadan, but they would beat up municipal workers who played. When the RPP fell from power, they sold their shanties and moved away."

## Opinions

Governor: 'We Have Hit-and-Run Incidents'

Yozgat is a controversial town. As the argument goes on about whether it is a "liberated zone" or not, Alawis in Yozgat charge that they are "living like refugees" in their own country, and RPP officials claim that "RPP supporters and democratic residents of the town are hostages of the NAP and the Idealists."

Now, we turn over these columns to the governor and the representatives of the political parties who hold the fate of the province in their hands.

Naim Ural, Governor of Yozgat

"I have been on the job for 6 months. Turkey is in an economic, social and political bottleneck. Our primary duty during these difficult days is to maintain our

citizens' security of life and property, and peace and order with the aid of our police and gendarme forces, and in total impartiality. That is what we are trying to do. There has not been an increase in political or common crimes in the past 6 months. Occasionally, we have these hit-and-run type incidents, but we do not allow them to develop into social incidents. People over 30 years of age are not involved in any of these actions. The perpetrators are generally between 15 and 20. They are generally the children of families who are abroad. These children lack family supervision. That is why, they fall into the web of the rightist or leftist associations. We have a 100-man police force under the central administration. It is, of course, a very small force.

Sahin Saygi, JP Provincial Chairman and Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce

"Citizens have found out what happens when you vote for the NAP and bring it to power. They know now what happens under an NAP administration. There is peace in Yozgat. All the schools are under the control of Idealists and rightists. There used to be several leftist groups when the Educational Institute [teachers' training school] was open, but those groups dissipated when the school closed down. There are only Idealists and Vanguardists now. The Vanguardists are not as strong as the Idealists. There has not been a major incident in the past year, except one in August 1979 when some people incited the crowd waiting before the mosque with reports that a mosque had been stoned and the mufti's car had been burned. Things got out of control, several homes and businesses, which belonged to either the RPP or Alawis, were damaged. Things were taken under control before further harm could be done. Our party's view is that people shouldn't heed the youth groups guided by certain political parties."

Harun Kurt, RPP Provincial Chairman

"Yozgat, today, is under the occupation of the NAP and the Idealists. RPP people's children cannot go to school, their sick cannot go to the hospital. I mentioned only the RPP because there is no other left in Yozgat except the RPP. The party in power has to step down before the situation in Yozgat can improve. At the present, anarchists on the streets and in state institutions are in cohorts. We must have new boarding schools in several of our counties; they must be open to democratic administrators, teachers and students. We must supply an outlet for our young people who are losing their fine qualities. Another important point we must remember is to refuse to help lawbreakers and to isolate them from the community. People should take a common stand against lawbreakers, so that the latter would feel cut off from the masses."

Attorney Ruhi Bacanli, NAP Provincial Chairman

"Yozgat is a peaceful city. Whoever is making these charges of beatings should come and walk through the streets at three in the morning and see for himself if there is a disturbance. There were attempts during the RPP era to establish liberated zones in the Asaginohutlu and Eskipazar wards. When the RPP fell from power, the people in those wards were left leaderless and they left Yozgat.

On the eve of the RPP's provincial organization elections, 10 to 15 children broke the windows of several businesses which belonged to RPP supporters. Other than that there was not a single incident. In the RPP era, on the other hand, the party

exploited such incidents for political reasons. Nothing happened after the rightists took over. The current government has an undesirable policy. The JP government exiles extreme leftists here as a form of punishment. Leftist police officers were assigned here, but most were afraid to come. We need nationalist cadres, whether it is in the police force or in schools. We consider today's events a struggle between groups which want to destroy the Turkish state and groups which want to protect it. The RPP, while in power, could not succeed in its attempts to drag us into anarchy. There was an investigation about us in connection with the demonstration when some property was destroyed. The investigation was called off, though, after Colonel Ali Ozkan testified."

Osman Ozer, TUP [Turkish Unity Party] Provincial Chairman

"The NAI is very strong in this province, and in the absence of a leftist block, Yozgat has fallen under the domination of the extreme right. We are Alawi Turks. They started an Alawi-Sunni controversy 2 years ago. They are driving us out of the province. Many have already left. We are an Ataturkist tribe. We all have the same religion, read the same good book, pray to the same God and revere the same prophet. Anarchy has been on the upswing in Yozgat in the last 5 years or so, but it is a one-sided escalation. People cannot read CUMHURIYET or MILLIYET newspapers here. Those who read them are insulted. Our party plate hangs on the second floor of a building, but someone put up a ladder and stole it. I went to the police, they laughed at me. They were not interested in helping me."

[22 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Kars

It was before the 1965 elections, Bulent Ecevit was the secretary general of the RPP.

Ecevit and his wife were on their first trip to eastern Anatolia. They were accompanied by Macit Hun, chairman of the RPP's Igdır County organization, Ibrahim Ors of the MILLİYET, Fikret Otyam of the CUMHURİYET and Ibrahim Soysal of the AKSAM.

The group left Igdır for Kars in the Igdır organization's car, but the tired old engine of the car became overheated near a mountain village between Igdır and Kars. They came out of the car and while arguing whether someone should go get some drinking water from the Koprıkoy village somewhere down the road, Ecevit spotted a crowd of people in the distance.

Peasants, each with a sack slung over the shoulder, were standing in line before an elderly man. One by one they would step in front of the old man, leave the sack beside him and, with apparent respect, take their leave.

Ecevit was intrigued. He walked over to the crowd and asked a man what was going on.

"We are giving the sheik his share of the potatoes we grew," the man explained. "How many tons of potatoes do you produce in a year?" Ecevit wanted to know.

"One to one-and-one-half tons," came the reply.

Ecevit turned to the sheik:

"Look, you are obviously a wise man. These people grow a ton of potatoes in a year. In less than an hour, you collected twice, even triple, the amount they produced in a year. You . . ."

Ecevit could not finish his sentence. A young man stepped forth from the crowd and in a tone bordering on anger, he said, "I don't care who you are, but I will not let you insult my sheik."

"Who are you?"

"I am Tahir Pacalı. I am the RPP representative at Koprıkoy."

"Don't you recognize me? I am the RPP secretary general."

The young man was taken aback, and in a milder tone of voice he tried to explain. "Look, Mr Secretary General," he said, "we don't have a doctor at Koprıkoy. When we get sick, we come to our sheik. He preys and and prepares an amulet for us. He is our doctor. We have no school in our village. Whatever our children learn, they learn from him. He is our teacher. Most of the people in the village do not speak Turkish. We come to him with our disputes and disagreements. He is our attorney, our judge. When the state provides for us the services that he does, I promise you I will chase him out of the village myself."



Ecevit could not talk. He had a big lump in his throat. His eyes filled up. Tears were streaming down his cheeks by the time he returned to the car.

It happened near the village of Koprukoy in the Igdır County of Kars 15 years ago.

Fifteen years later, Koprukoy still does not have running water, schools, or electricity. Koprukoy peasants still donate a sack of their potatoes to the sheik.

It is not a question of Demirel or Ecevit. The incident epitomizes "eastern policies" of Turkish governments which, instead of services, have extended repression to the east.

The incident epitomizes the end result of the policies and the behavior of politicians. Together, they have driven the peasants of Kars to cynicism. A typical remark of a peasant of Kars is, "The state takes water up to the 2,000-meter elevation on the Mount Agri [Mt Ararat] for the state animal breeding farm, while the villages at the skirts of the mountain do without water. Don't we count as much as the animals?"

This is the story of people who tell you matter-of-factly, "Villages here borrow drinking water from each other," or, "Young people of these villages learn about Turkey when they serve in the military," and then, ask you, "How can it happen in the 20th century?"

Kars, a city of 500,000, is a neglected city, as all other eastern and southeastern cities are.

It is a frontier town where there has been virtually no ethnic or sectarian clash of significance, even though its population encompasses a number of communities with different ethnic and religious backgrounds. There are Azeris [Azerbaijanis], Kurds, Alawis, Sunnis, Terekemes [Turkish tribesmen in eastern Anatolia and Transcaucasia] and "the natives."

Kars is a political arena where the NAP and other "Idealist" organizations, political parties of all tendencies and colors, and virtually all leftist factions operate freely. The town itself and the 13 counties of the province outside of Igdır are under the domination of a far-right majority.

#### Political Developments of Past and Present in Kars

The political force--the political line, if you like--prevalent in Kars today had its beginnings in 1960's.

Establishment of the TLP in the sixties constitutes a milestone in the growth of the leftist movement in Turkey which, from then on, developed steadily and flourished in Kars also.

Kars has a structure of its own. It also has a large group of intellectuals. It had, then, one of the highest literacy rate among all Turkish provinces. By the same token, it had a severe unemployment problem which gave its people ample free time and reason to delve into politics. This was the climate when the TLP entered Kars. It organized rapidly all over the province on the upper bureaucratic level, but its

original cadre included workers also, among them Mustafa Gemici, an ironworker, Hayati Tuncer, a drycleaner, and Kemal Akbulut, a photographer. The TLP flourish in the favorable climate of Kars, and in the 1965 elections, sent Adil Kurtel as a TLP deputy to the National Assembly. Kurtel was a young jurist from the town's bureaucratic sector. That is how the youth sector of Kars entered politics. It marked the beginning of an awakening and awareness process.

The very first intellectual movement among the youth of Kars began with the newspaper HUR KALEMLER [Free Pens], published by Yavuz Yildirimturk and friends. Yildirimturk was later involved in the kidnapping of Hakan Duman and put on trial.

The rightist sector, supported and guided by well-to-do Azeris of the Kars proper, was socially influential in those years. The weight of the Azeri culture and rightist leanings could be felt in the social and cultural life, primarily because the mass communication media were under the control and guidance of the Azeri community. Kars, in those days, did not have a single daily that adhered to the democratic line, let alone the leftist line. The HUR KALEMLER, which published irregularly, had to fight off anticommunist associations and rightist youths just to make it to the newsstand.

The Azeri and rightist pressure eased off somewhat around 1968 with the onset of the student, or youth, movements which, soon after their inception, spread to Kars also.

#### 'Hay Rallies'

In 1969, to protest the hike in the price of hay, the leftist sector in Kars organized a series of rallies. It was by means of those rallies that the leftist movement, which until then had been limited to the youth and bureaucratic sectors, reached the people.

Involvement of the young people of Kars in the protest action led to an organizational movement. DEV-GENC [Revolutionary Youth Associations Federation] chapter of Kars was the first youth organization to be formed in Kars. One of its founders was Metin Yildirimturk, a codefendant of Deniz Gezmiş in the TPLO [Turkish People's Liberation Army] trial, who was found murdered last year in an Istanbul flat. The leftist sector had a large number of sympathizers in the youth sector, and because there was no armed counterforce, it remained unarmed as it rapidly organized.

#### The Memorandum and the Quiet Aftermath

Scores of extreme leftists, including the ones in Kars, were arrested with the onset of the 12 March era. The nationwide quiet in the leftist sector was noticeable in the Kars area also.

With the defeat of the leftists, the NAP and its satellite organizations began to flourish in the Kars area with the support of the Azeris and the Shi'ite religious leaders, known in the region as the "agunts." The NAP, and with it the "Idealist Hearths" and "Ideal-One: Idealist Educators and Teachers Association," were inaugurated in 1973. There were now two opposing forces in the city, and it inevitably led to clashes between rival groups in youth-intensive sectors.

Bureaucrats theretofore had been the leaders in the leftist movement, but with the provincewide organization of the NAP and its satellites, the leadership passed on

to the youth sector. Youths opted for an armed struggle, and the bureaucrats supported their decision.

The quiet of the 12 March era lasted until the end of 1973. The nationwide leftist movement of 1974 spread to Kars. Leftist organizations, inspired by the TPLP-F [Turkish People's Liberation Party-Front] of Mahir Cayan and friends, sprouted all over the country, including the Kars Province. The 2 1/2 years of quiet gave way to a feverish organizational activity. The groups formed in Kars during those years included Kars-DEV [Kars Revolutionaries Association] and KHEA [Kars Higher-Education Association] which traced their origins to the TPLP-F, and the KPRYA [Kars Patriotic Revolutionary Youths Association] an affiliate of the People's Liberation.

Formation of professional mass organizations in Kars took place in 1974 also. Also inspired by the TPLP-F, they were TUM-DER [Comprehensive White-Collar Workers Unity and Solidarity Association], TUS-DER [Comprehensive Health Personnel Unity and Solidarity Association], DEV-SAN-DER (Revolutionary Artists' Association, which is the organization of minstrels), Cirak-Der [Apprentices' Association], Hamal-Der [Porters' Association] and Halk-Der [Populists' Association].

The left pushed on with its organizational effort in the city of Kars and in the counties of the Kars Province. The right wing, represented by the NAP, Idealist Hearths and Ideal-One, was not sitting idle either.

It was in this period of organizational activity that an ethnic matter--the Azeri-Kurdish question--became a topical issue.

The Azeris, representing the right, had been the sole influential sector in Kars for many years. Candidates supported by the Azeri community never lost a municipal election in Kars. Many associations were run by Azeri-dominated cadres.

The Azeri, hence, the rightist, domination in Kars lasted until the collapse of the second Nationalist Front government. Although the left wing was very active even during the period of Azeri domination, it could not break out of the economically deprived sections of the city, such as the Yusufpasa, Sukapi and Bayrampasa wards. The Ideal-One, in the meanwhile, was socially and culturally active in the mainstream of the city's life.

#### Political Murders and 12 January Incident

As the left wing widened its organization in the rightist-dominated communities of Kars, it was not surprising that armed clashes broke out among rival youth groups.

Protest demonstrations, arranged by high-school students, on 12 January 1978 brought the rising tension to a breaking point.

Kars Governor Kemal Senol was holding a discussion with security officials and school administrators on the type of precautionary measures in schools to contain student incidents, when about 2,000 students gathered in front of the governor's office to protest police brutality. A group of student representatives asked to talk the matter with the governor. The governor refused and ordered his men to disperse the crowd. A clash broke out between leftist students and the police trying to break up the demonstration. Six policemen, a nightguard and a student were hurt.



## First Political Murder

It was 24 January 1978, 12 days after the protest demonstration, that far-right students, taking advantage of the absence of leftist students who had gone to their villages, gathered in front of the Special Administration Directorate to protest the 12 January incident. Soon after the demonstration got underway, clashes broke out between the demonstrators and leftist groups leaving the TOB-DER building. It was around 1100 hours when the clashes began. Some time later, it was announced that "the whole thing is over without any casualties." However, at about 1400 hours, four teachers, members of the TOB-DER, were attacked by a group of 8 to 10 people as they walked by the Ideal-One headquarters. Talat Temel, a teacher and an officer of the TOB-DER, was knifed in the abdomen and died. A police patrol car happened to pass by the scene of incident, and two of the attackers were caught, but the two suspects managed to escape. One of them will be apprehended later in Suluova with the murder weapon, the knife, still in his possession.

Talat Temel's murder was the boiling point of the long-standing tension in Kars. Kars Governor Kemal Senol was recalled and replaced by Orhan Pirler.

On 29 January 1978, a day after Governor Pirler took over, Nevruz Koç, a rightist, was attacked in the city by an armed group and killed.

No sooner than the town began to calm down after the two killings, a riot broke out in Malatya in the wake of Malatya Mayor Hamit Fendoglu's murder. Two weeks after the Malatya incidents began, there were indications that a scheme similar to the one put into effect in Malatya, was about to be acted out in Kars.

The Kars Educational Institute was scheduled to restart classes in mid-April 1978. In an effort to create an atmosphere conducive to academic activity, Kars Governor Orhan Pirler arranged to meet the school officials and leaders of both the right and the left wings. The governor told the group that he did not approve of "educating children under armed protection," and proposed to discuss the situation by starting off from common denominators and to reach an agreement in order to ensure a safe and secure climate.

A joint protocol was drawn up, under which there would be no attacks on students, no slogan-shouting in schools and no smuggling of banned publications into the school. The meeting broke up after the protocol was drafted. Signing was postponed to the following day. The next day, however, two of the leftist leaders showed up at the governor's office with two petitions. They informed the governor that they had discussed the matter with the officials of their organizations, and had decided not to sign the protocol. The reason they offered was that their organizations had been "formed to wage a struggle," and that "to make peace" was not their objective. The reopening of the institute was, then, pushed back to 26 April 1978.

[23 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] There Could Not Have Been a Red Flag over the Fort

On 24 April 1978, the governor's office was tipped that rightists were planning to start a commotion at the school entrance and downtown Kars on 26 April, the day of the school's reopening. Reports received at the governor's office indicated that



the plans called for a disturbance similar to what had taken place in Malatya. Governor Pirler and Brigadier General Gungor Gumuspala met and discussed the type of measures needed in the city. Brigadier Gungor Gumuspala, son of General Ragip Gumuspala, was the commander of the army brigade in Kars.

On 26 April, both the governor and the general addressed the right-wing students assembled near the governor's office and urged them to return to school. They told the students that full measures were taken in the city and that they will be hauled back to school in military trucks, if they refused to return voluntarily. Students ignored the warning. Their attitude was taken as an indication that the reports received earlier by the governor's office were accurate. Military measures were tightened. The city remained tense. The moment that Kars people hoped would not come was here. A short time later, a message was received from the gendarme commander about students attacking places of business along the Kasimpasa Street. Military units immediately moved into position on the Kasimpasa Street and took control of the situation. During the attacks on the shops, a young man, identified as Atalay Adiguzel, apparently threw a gelatin explosive at a store window, but the device bounced back from the iron bars on the window. He, then, attempted to pick up the explosive to toss back to the shop, but the device exploded in his hands. Adiguzel's arm was blown off. Three or four other rightists were also hurt during the incidents. Eight shops were damaged. The incident, however, was reported to the press and to the TRT [Turkish Radio and Television Corp.] in a highly exaggerated manner.

About 3,000 rightists involved in the incident were dispersed by the military. Leftists who rushed to the scene of the disturbance to assist the shopkeepers were kept away from the rightists by military units. There could have been deaths and much more damage, if it were not for the military. A curfew of 6- to 7-hour duration was declared and a much worse incident was averted.

On 24 May 1978, JP Chairman Suleyman Demirel, at an Ankara press conference, announced that a red flag had been flown over the Fort of Kars, and that people were moving out of Igdir and Ardahan.

MILLIYET reporters who were in Kars at the time investigated the report and concluded that it would have been impossible to fly a red flag over the Fort of Kars because the fort was under military control, and that there had been no migration to speak of out of either Igdir, or Ardahan.

Demirel cited a comment by Senator Ziya Ayrım of Kars as his source for the flag incident. Senator Ayrım's version of the comment differed from Demirel's. The senator related that a military officer had pointed at the fort's flagpole and had remarked, "There is no flag there. Are they going to fly a red flag?" Meanwhile, Demirel was busily arranging "flag" rallies in Istanbul. Soon after the controversy began, Senator Ayrım, in an interview over the TRT, denied ever having said a red flag was flying over the fort. He insisted that he had said there was no flag.

As to the reports of a migration, MILLIYET reporters discovered what they were all about.

Several wealthy Azeri families had set up new businesses in large cities with the money they had made in Kars and were moving to those cities to be near their new enterprises. Their move, however, was reported to the media as a migration from Kars.

The Azeri families' move to other cities marked the close of an era where the economic and social power in Kars was concentrated in the hands of an ethnic group.

The red flag incident was discussed and criticized at length for a period of time, but then, it disappeared from the headlines and was quickly forgotten.

#### Attempts to Repeat Malatya Episode in Kars

There was soon another attempt to start disturbances in Kars. It came 25 days after the so-called "red flag incident."

It was the first week of June in 1978. Explosive devices were discovered near the outer walls of three mosques in a predominantly Azeri section of the city. A group, which included several militant rightwingers, complained to Governor Orhan Pirler that the attempt to blow up the mosques was, in their eyes, an attack on the Islam. We will hold a march to protest it, they said.

Governor Pirler refused to issue a marching permit. He told the group that such incidents were actually attempts to foment strife, and sent them home with a warning against falling for such tricks.

In the latter part of June, there was a report that 250 to 300 extremist right-wing activists from Erzurum had boarded a train and were on their way to Kars.

Military units were stationed at the train depot and at highway entrances into the city.

Two kilometers from the city, the right-wing commandos from Erzurum pulled the emergency break and brought the train to a halt. Then, they got off the train and dispersed in the Yeni Mahalle ward which is under a right-wing control. Military units surrounded the area, and the commandos, realizing that they will not be able to arrange an action in Kars, left the Yeni Mahalle ward in small groups.

After June 1978, there was hardly any pro-NAP rightwinger left in Kars. They had been rendered passive, they could not start any incidents. Most of them left Kars. Killings did not cease, however. Now, incidents were of an individual terror nature. On 2 June 1978, rightist Sabri Aykut, on 22 September 1978, Sefik Akansel, another rightist, and on 29 September 1978, Vedat Yilmaz, a leftist, were shot to death in armed attacks.

Armed attacks continued in Kars, the city, and in the counties of the Kars Province. Through 1979 and 80, up until 1979, the fighting was generally between leftists and extreme rightists, but several incidents that took place in 1979 created an impression that the JP was also becoming a target of terrorism.

When investigated thoroughly, though, it became apparent that those 1979 incidents were not politically inspired. Take the Alibeyoglu case.

Medet Alibeyoglu, JP provincial chairman, was attacked and killed by four armed men at the Abdi Ipekci Square on 13 July 1979.

The incident, which took place in full public view, was reported as a political murder until certain facts surfaced.

It was discovered that Medet Alibeyoglu was killed by the members of his own family, and that several in the group of armed men were his nephews. The motive was not political, he was killed over a disputed 200,000-lira promisory note. There was a blood feud, and according to people who knew the background of the feud, Medet Alibeyoglu had his nephew's father killed in 1978. He was sent to prison, but was released under the amnesty law after having served only 5 years. Impartial sources say that a blood-feud killing and a quarrel over a loan were deliberately twisted around to give the incident a political color.

There was, though, an attack on JP people. It took place on 2 October 1979 in the Gole County.

Selim Dursunoglu, the JP's senatorial candidate in Kars, was visiting Kars Mayor Reis Osturk in his office when an explosive was thrown into the room from a building across the street. Selim Dursunoglu died and his uncle, Naim Dursunoglu, was wounded.

Later, however, it was discovered that the senatorial candidate's murder was the result of a mistake. Our own investigation revealed the following facts:

Celebrations were planned for 30 September, the date of Gole's liberation from the enemy. President of the Senate Sirri Atalay, who is from Gole, and several other parliamentarians were expected in town to take part in the celebrations.

The observances coincided with the outlawed leftist groups' declaration that they will boycott the coming elections. Leftists were planning a nationwide action to demonstrate their resolve to disrupt balloting, and they had decided to begin the action in Gole.

According to plans, they would launch an attack on the mayor's office when Senator Atalay and the other parliamentarians visit the mayor. A strange weapon was mounted on the roof of a store across the street from the mayor's office. The weapon consisted of a pipe filled with iron balls and rods. It was to be ignited by pressed gunpowder when the parliamentarians walked into the mayor's office.

Things did not work out as planned. The county was very crowded on the liberation day. So much so that the militants could not reach the roof to ignite the weapon and the plan fell through. The JP's senatorial candidate Dursunoglu, having attended an open air rally in Gole, decided to visit the mayor. The militants, not wanting to miss another chance, fired the weapon which, in fact, had been prepared for others. The welder who had assembled the weapon was caught and his testimony led to the capture of nine DEV-YOL militants.

[24 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] The Right Fades Out, the Left Factionalizes in Kars

The beginnings of the current situation in Kars can be traced back to the sixties. Far-right sympathizers who have been active in the city since the sixties were rendered inactive in 1978 when they either left town, or stayed in involuntary retirement from activism.

That sums up the situation on the right, but what about the left? Having found a strong base in several social sectors, the left organized in 1977 and 78, but its

unity was short-lived, it began to unravel. It broke into factions, all of which vied with each other to gain the allegiance of the area's youthful masses.

Initially, the most influential group was the People's Liberation, an offshoot of the TPLA, but soon disintegrated. The vacuum it left was filled by DEV-YOL, self-proclaimed successor to the DEV-GENC, but it, too, faded out to be replaced by the TPLP-F sympathizers who espoused an armed struggle.

In recent months, the dominant force in Kars has been the DEV-KUR (Revolutionary Liberation), another TPLP-F spinoff. TPLP-F sympathizers and the DEV-KUR represent the split in the Kars branch of Mahir Cayan's TPLP-F. A youthful official of the DEV-KUR's Kars branch described the split as "a reflection of the autonomous structure of the groups in the Kars region." "There is no political factor in the split," he insisted. "As a matter of fact, we are in the process of unifying our policies."

According to observers, whoever gives priority to armed action gains dominance over the leftist masses in Kars. Once it was the People's Liberation, then, came the DEV-YOL, and then, the TPLP-F sympathizers.

Today, the leader appears to be the DEV-KUR. It soon will inevitably relinquish its leadership position to another group. Whoever stresses armed action takes the lead.

What is the policy of the Revolutionary Liberation, that is, the DEV-KUR? What does it stand for?

A young man, who introduced himself as an official of the group's eastern region, talked to MILLIYET reporters about the DEV-KUR's philosophy. The session, held in a house in a Kars shantytown, lasted from early morning hours until sundown.

A dark complexioned man of 26 or 27 said the group sees itself as "the representative of the independent proletarian struggle in the political arena." He highlighted the group's policies as follows:

"For us, the fundamental duty is to wage a political struggle, which is the general form of the class struggle all over the world. We struggle to come to political power—the ultimate goal of the proletariat. We fight on three fronts. One of them is the political front. This is the armed struggle we wage to enable the proletariat to achieve political power. The second is the ideological front. We propagate Marxism-Leninism. We work to spread Marxist-Leninist ideas so that they will replace the individualism of the bourgeoisie.

"The third is the democratic economic struggle front. Our struggle at this front is in the form of helping workers in their union activities, in their efforts to raise their standard of living, and in the form of assisting young people solve their academic problems, and in the form of seeking solutions to peasants' land problems.

"The primary objective in our political struggle is to develop a system in the country free of exploitation and repression. A democratic people's government is the most suitable form of government in our country, considering the economic and political realities. The only road to liberation for the colonized and oppressed is the armed struggle road. We will continue this struggle until a democratic people's government, which our people have been yearning for, is founded."



## A Movement Isolated From the People

This was the DEV-KUR's version of its policies and objectives. Members of the intelligentsia we have been able to interview depict the DEV-KUR policies as "actions isolated from the people." They said:

"Anyone who grabs a gun dominates the youth groups. In reality, these are individual, petit bourgeoisie acts, out of touch with the people or the masses. They are misguided acts. There is an encouraging aspect all the same. Young proletarian revolutionaries in Kars are very familiar with the schemes of the ruling classes of either wing. Therefore, they are able to take a common stand against fascism. That is why, civilian fascist forces cannot survive, or organize in Kars."

So far, we have heard the views of the illegal left in Kars. What do the leftist or rightist political parties think of Kars? Independent observers say, the far left in Kars directs its attacks on the NAP and on other Idealist organizations. These are physical attacks, or bombings and killings and are meant to scare the far right into leaving town. Rightist parties outside the NAP, namely, the JP and the NSP, have been organizing and operating in Kars without any encumbrance. The NAP, on the other hand, unable to organize among the civilian population, has been forming cadres in the police force and in various state institutions, according to the RPP sources and to the left outside the RPP.

### RPP: 'The NAP Is the Left's Target'

RPP Provincial Chairman Saffet Tiriyaki was on a trip. Our discussions were conducted with Sabri Isik and Faik Filtekin, members of the RPP Administrative Board, Sabri Gersin, the provincial organization's auditor, and Abdurrahman Celik, chief of the party's provincial youth auxiliaries. These RPP officials expressed the following views on the political developments in Kars:

"The RPP protects all youth organizations which operate according to the statutes and charter of the party. We have nothing to do with those on the far left, regardless of what they call themselves, RPP follower or not. Youths on the extreme right carried out many operations in the city to undermine the RPP's standing. Meanwhile, the left has not been acting wisely, either. It is gathering strength, but it is also splintering. The RPP lost many votes in the last elections because the left boycotted the elections. It served the interests of the JP and the NAP. While the RPP lost many votes, the JP's gains were not significant either. When the JP came to power, it sent many people into internal exile. Initially, they considered it a victory, but now they regret it [probably, a reference to the leftist boycott of elections]. There aren't any problems in interparty relations in Kars. The right wing used to be influential in the city during the Nationalist Front governments, but many of those influential families have left town. Administration changed hands, but we still have people leaving town. This time, however, economically well-off people are leaving. Kars is a frontier town, people who are worried about the future of their investments are leaving.

"We believe that anarchy is no longer a question of which party is in power. In our view, its source is our inadequate educational system. Youths go to school 6 or 7 years, graduate from the lycee, but cannot enter a university. Most of them are left out in the cold, without any prospects of employment. In our area, for example, there should be an agriculture-oriented lycee education. Young people should be

trained in farming and in animal husbandry. Graduates of former village institutes became excellent agriculturists. Now, when our youths graduate from the lycee, all they think of is becoming a white-collar worker.

"Unemployment is a major source of anarchy. State officials must remain impartial under any and all circumstances. Continuation of repression and torture by the state cadres is increasing the risk of major explosions. Divisive practices of the state cadres began with the JP government, and in the police cadres. We believe that we either form a bipartisan government, or the JP and the RPP get together, form a government and purge the state cadres of NAP partisans. There is no other way to stop anarchy. We cannot have even a wedding party in Kars today. Every time we had a wedding, rightwingers sang 'the Black Sea Was in Turmoil,' and the leftwingers sang 'Uncle Mehmet,' which immediately set off a fight and the party was ruined."

#### RPP Youths Complain About the Police

Abdurrahman Celik, head of the RPP Youth Auxiliaries, sees no difference in the structures of the JP and the RPP in Kars. Celik is also critical of the RPP Administrative Board for its attempts to abolish youth auxiliaries.

"There is a feudal structure in Kars," he said. "People of this region are devoted to honor, religion and land. They remain respectful and faithful to the state until the state threatens their livelihood. Everything that can possibly be done to push these people to the verge of explosion has been done. The nation will suffer the worst if an explosion did occur. There isn't much of a difference between the structures of the JP and the RPP in the city. Both condone repression. Provincial administrators [of the RPP] dismissed us in violation of the party bylaws. We called the attention of the general headquarters to what had happened. They appreciated what we were trying to do and reinstated us. The police force is unable to protect the citizen's security of life.

"We have faith that the army will protect our lives and honor. The police bursts into homes in the middle of the night, conducts searches, forces wives and daughters to go out in the streets at nighttime. People who believe in democracy are deeply concerned. We, as youth auxiliaries, want to form a unity of force with whoever is fighting against fascism. We are not interested in making them members of our organization, but we want to pool our resources. The RPP can get 140,000 votes, if elections were to be held today. The extreme left's antielection campaign cut our votes from 117,000 to 57,000 in the last election. We sympathize with the youths further to our left, we will join them, but we do not want disruptive and monopolist elements in our midst."

#### JP: 'Rightists Left Town'

Isa Bozdemir, JP provincial chairman, who is also the chairman of the Tradesmen's Cooperatives, had left for Ankara 10 days before the senate elections, and had not come back. We were told that provincial chairmen of political parties, the JP's as well as the others', were not safe in Kars, and that may well be the reason why the JP official had not returned home.

Yusuf Karaoglu, the secretary of the JP's provincial organization, talked on behalf of the party organization:

"There aren't any major differences of opinion between the JP and the RPP here," he said. Characterizing the interparty relations as "excellent," he remarked, "We become rivals only at election time." He added, "We do not have youth or women's auxiliaries in Kars. Leftists are in command here. As high as 90 percent of the rightists in the area have left. No one makes investments here any more. Houses which went for 500,000 liras cannot find buyers for half of that price. Government employees assigned to Kars refuse to come. Anarchic incidents started only recently. Most of the merchants are leaving town. Business is dead. The State Hydraulic Affairs and the State Highways Directorates opened branches in Kars, but engineers refuse to work here. Now, they can't put the projects into effect. The provincial organization did not ask for any new assignments on the directorial level when the JP came to power. The RPP changed 24 directors when it came to power. We recently found out that the director of national education is an NAP man, but it is too late now to ask for a change. The police force here is well-disciplined. I must admit that they are patient and hard-working. Restaurants stay open beyond 1700 hours now.

"Mayor Muzaffer Selcuk of the RPP has worked very hard, I must emphasize. It is only recently that he has not been doing well. Leftists are in command everywhere in Kars. There is no part of town, or ward where they cannot go. We, on the other hand, cannot enter Sinirkapisi areas.

"When a leftist dies, they give him a private funeral. When a rightist dies, however, the municipality interrs him. Nothing may happen during the funeral, but we are scared to attend.

"We believe that state officials should be apolitical on the job. They should think of politics only when voting."

#### NSP Critical of All Leaders

When the provincial chairman of the NSP threw his support behind the RPP candidate in the last elections, his relations with the party's general headquarters came to a breaking point. The central organization sent a retired colonel, Kerim Afsar, to Kars to investigate the matter. The episode was closed with the dismissal of the party's provincial administrative board. NSP members we have interviewed contend that Abdulkadir Dogru's departure from the NSP, and his subsequent entrance into the Order Party, put the NSP in Kars in a difficult situation. Their assessment of the political situation in Kars is as follows:

"The extreme left does not bother the people here. All the well-to-do people have left Kars anyhow. What we have here now are the financial have-nots. You know how it is in the animal husbandry field. Now, there is a carpet loom in every home. A Jewish man periodically comes from Istanbul and buys our rugs for 12 liras per square meter. We are grateful to him, because we would starve if it were not for him. We are not pleased with Necmettin Hodja [NSP leader Necmettin Erbakan]. His recent behavior leaves something to be desired. Political leaders factionalized the country to further their own interests. We feel sorry for the young people who are killing each other. After all, the killers, as well as the dead, are the sons and daughters of this country. The young people may be walking down the wrong path, but the political leaders drove them down that path. They are the ones who started the quarrel in the country."



[25 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Igdır

Among the many Kars counties and villages devoid of trees, shrubs, or other greenery, Igdır stands out like an oasis. You can grow any vegetable, fruit, cereal, tree, or flower you want in Igdır. It is an agricultural heaven.

Igdır has some of the most fertile land around, and you naturally expect to meet some of the happiest people in the region when you walk into Igdır. What you find there, however, is a community deeply divided along ethnic lines and intimidated by anarchic incidents.

Igdır is the only one in the 14 counties of Kars where a large majority votes for the NAP and other rightist parties.

Observers say the heavy ethnic support stems from the county's ethnic structure. In the county seat, 55 percent is Azeri and 45 percent ethnic tribes. The percentage of Azeris goes even higher when the villages in the county are taken into account. The figures, then, become 75 percent Azeri, 25 percent ethnic tribe.

Among the Azeri votes in the county, 75 percent is cast for the NAP, and the rest is divided between the JP and the RPP. The physical division in the county [seat] is readily apparent. Sogutlu and Igdırmaşa wards are under the extreme right wing's control, while illegal leftist groups and ethnic tribes dominate the Baharlı ward and several sections on the Doğu Beyazıt Street.

According to RPP and other leftist sources, the NAP's success in the county is largely attributable to the personal status of Igdır Mayor Hüseyin Akbulut, one of the religious leaders--Seydi--of the Azeri community. Akbulut ran for mayor in 1965 as a JP candidate and won. Later, he transferred to the Democratic Party, and then in 1973, to the NAP. The Azeri vote in the county shifted from one party to another as Akbulut changed his allegiances.

#### Rift Widens Between Two Ethnic Communities

The rift between the county's two ethnic communities appeared in 1978 with the killing of an extreme rightist Azeri, Ali Aras. That incident in June 1978 put a strain on the relations between the Azeri community and the ethnic tribes. Frequent rumors that one side was about to conduct a raid against the other side's ward or homes kept the tension alive through the years.

The seeds of discord sown in Igdır bore fruit on 5 August 1978 when the continuing tension erupted into an armed clash. A number of Azeris and several people from the ethnic tribes went at each other with fury along the NATO Road. The result: three dead.

The dead were Fatma Tuncer and Rahmi Akbulut, rightists, and Koroglu Keser, a leftist. The incident strained the relations between the two ethnic communities even further. Five rightists were arrested in connection with the shootout. They were Mehmet Aras, Ahmet Aras, Gaffar Aras, Nizamettin Alagoz and Zafer Ocal. Three of the people arrested were family members of the Idealist killed in June, Ali Aras.



The incident did more than heighten the tension. It opened a chasm between the two communities and started a blood feud. Whoever it was that wanted to turn Igdır into a battleground by exploiting the county's ethnic characteristics had realized his goal because from then on killings took place in rapid succession.

#### **Sheik Hussein Is Concerned**

In terms of size and political influence, Zilan, Burukan and Celali tribes stand out among the ethnic tribes of Igdır.

What is the approach of these tribes to the incidents in Igdır? How do they interpret them? We talked to Sheik Hussein Balamir.

Hussein Balamir, 67, is one of the sheiks of the Celali tribe. He has been "an RPP man from birth," as he put it. He married an Azeri woman. He had 10 children and five grandchildren. When we talked to him, he complained primarily about "the pressure" on the tribes of the region.

"What do they mean when they talk of ethnic differences? We fought as Turks for seven centuries, bared our chest to enemy fire," he said. "They divide us, and then, they harrass us and intimidate us. Now they are slandering us. They call us communists, traitors. If war came, I will die for this country, just as you will. One of my sons is an electronics engineer. He is in West Germany. I had a talk with him before he left. I told him not to ever forget that he is a Turk. Not to ever forget it as long as he lived in that foreign land.

"There are nine villages here--Elmagun, Caf, Asagi Gevru, Yukari Gevru, Horhan, Kavaztepe, Aydaluk and Seyh Mirza. They are about 20 to 30 kilometers from each other. Neither one has electricity, or running water, or school. Women of 60 carry water home from a distance of 30 kilometers. It is very sad but the villages here have to borrow, or loan, drinking water, to each other. The youths of these villages learn Turkish when they go into military service. The State Breeding Farm at the Mount Agri loses 30 to 40 million liras a year, but they give water to the farm, while the villages do without water. The state does not value our people as much as it does the animals. They call us Kurds, they intimidate us, they discriminate against us.

"These nine villages are separate entities, and yet they transformed them into one district and placed them under the Suveren village in order to claim that the water and electricity problem has been solved. That is the kind of public service we get."

The separation between the county's ethnic communities is mirrored in the political situation. Political parties are organized in one or the other community, according to the political wing they represent. Their views about the incidents in Igdır are not any different from the views expressed by their counterparts in other provinces.

#### **JP Chairman: 'Right Wing Controls the County, Terrorists Are Leftists'**

JP County Chairman Atalay Saver, who publishes Igdır's daily HUDUT POSTA [Frontier Post], charged that people from Igdır cannot enter Dogubeyazit or Kars, and that the extreme right controls the county, but the left wing terrorizes it. He said:

"The right wing is sovereign here. We do not care for ethnic discrimination, but I must admit there are some who do. NAP youths force their parents into voting for the

NAP. That is how the rightists came to dominate the county. We had no ethnic question a decade ago, but now, people are moving out of Igdir in droves. People do not want to get involved in incidents. Everyone goes home and shuts the door after 1700 or 1800 hours, as if there was a curfew. There has not been a medical doctor in Igdir for years. We had a doctor once from the Aralik County. He had to see 100 to 200 people a day. He could not take it, he resigned. Now that we are not allowed to enter Kars, we hope we would become Erzurum's county. We can't get anything done in Kars."

NSP County Chairman: 'Government Should Make No Concessions to NAP'

NSP County Chairman Vahap Akar charged that NAP-affiliated police officers in the county received preferred treatment, Idealists coerced people into making monetary contributions and were involved in anarchic incidents. He said:

"We would like to see the current government stay, but we don't want it to make further concessions to the NAP. The NAP is strong here and its strength comes from its zealously racist attitude. It is arming and organizing. Extreme right-wing elements will scare people away from the ballot box unless the government establishes its authority here. We are under martial law. Consequently, incidents that happen here are in the form of individual attacks. The left wing undertakes some ruthless and destructive action against the regime. No one from the NSP gets involved in such incidents. People of the area are concerned over the absence of state authority and the state's failure to take an impartial stand against anarchy. If we had unbiased administrators, and if the laws were enforced without prejudice, everything will be fine."

NAP: 'You Cannot Build Happiness Over Dead Bodies'

The NAP's county chairman was out of town. We discussed the situation in Igdir with several NAP youths at the party headquarters and with several Idealists. They charged that the left was trying to start a civil war in Turkey. They said:

"NAP members do not favor anarchy. In our esteem, you cannot build happiness over dead bodies. We admit that rightists are also involved in killings. It is a matter of a cat scratching when cornered. Anger at the attacks on the NAP by extreme leftist organizations and the natural desire to defend one's self are involving the Idealists in anarchic incidents. We believe the left wing's behavior is destroying the state. That is why we are against anarchic incidents."

RPP Analyzes NAP's Effectiveness

RPP County Chairman Mecit Hun gave us his view of the County's political makeup and offered his explanation of the NAP's effectiveness. He said:

"The quarrel between the Azeris and the ethnic tribes is of an economic nature. All the small industries and businesses in the county seat are in Azeri hands. The ethnic tribes generally live in mountain villages and raise animals. The Azeri sector is superior to the rest, socially and economically, and also culturally. The tribes receive no services from the state. When the economically powerful also takes the state to its side, a quarrel begins automatically. It is in the interest of the politically powerful to poison the atmosphere, to stir up chauvanistic feelings. That is how they get votes. In terms of chauvanism, the NAP has no match. The illegal

left has no strength in the county. The RPP should start a dialogue with the illegal left within the framework of the party platform and through democratic channels.

"The Idealists have their liberated zones--the Igdirnava ward, for one. I, as the RPP county chairman, am not allowed in, let alone someone from the illegal left. The zone in question covers one-half of the county.

"We believe that the government's prejudiced approach to the incidents is exacerbating the situation and dragging the country into a civil war. We believe that the solution lies in a coalition government between the RPP and the JP, provided that the cadres in state institutions are purged of extreme rightwingers.

"These are very crucial days in the east, something might happen at any given moment. The destiny of the east will not change whichever party comes to power, the JP or the RPP. The state has a special policy for the east. It sets a base price for everything, it does not set a base price for farm animals. Another drought will mean disaster for the east. Don't be surprised by a social explosion in the east if the state continues to ignore the animal industry."

'We'd Like to Join Erzurum'

Igdir Mayor Huseyin Akbulut, a very influential person in the Azeri community and in the NAP, looks at the situation from a different perspective. "Igdir people want to annex their county to Erzurum," he asserts. He says:

"The NAP is in control in Igdir. The party's strength is derived from the votes it has. Several wards and streets are in leftist hands. People who are dividing this community are planning to take advantage of its divided status. The NAP is not racist. There are many NAP members among the ethnic tribes. Our party welcomes them with open arms. People who want to see the nation divided cannot be considered nationalist. There isn't anarchy in this county. There is no state terrorism here. The incidents we have here are the hit-and-run type. Leftists from Kars, Karakose, Tunceli, Divarbakir and Diyadin come here, strike and then, flee. This is the international communism's scheme. The target is the state, the regime. There are no right-wing militants here. There is nationalism here. Rightists do not start any incidents when leftists leave.

"They write 'Risi Peshmerge' (Kurdish Fighters Are Coming) and other slogans all over the walls. Our people do not take part in the actions carried out by militants. It is unfair to accuse everyone living here. They conduct communist propaganda here. They exploit social and economic problems and Atatürkist principles.

"They once distributed a communique. It had sort of a poem on it. It went something like 'If I have a son, / I'll put a mauser in his hand, / Let him spell freedom with bullets.' How are they going to spell freedom with bullets? The strange thing is we can enter Russia with our passports, but we cannot enter Kars, they won't let us in."

[26 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Merzifon

"Communist Prosecutor!"

"Mayor Resign!"

"Communist Prosecutor!"

"Mayor Resign!"

A crowd of people, where the ages ranged between 15 and 25, were chanting in front of the administration building in Merzifon. The date was 28 May 1980.

What brought on this demonstration? What were these young people, some of them children, protesting with their fists held high? How could they think that somebody would fire the mayor and the prosecutor merely upon their demand?

This, apparently, was the right wing's show of force. The primary target of the demonstration seemed to be Yusuf Caliskan, assistant prosecutor of the county. The right wing wanted him out. Shortly after the 28 May 1980 demonstration, the assistant prosecutor was transferred from Merzifon to Bolu.

Someone had made "a concession" to anarchy. Who?

What had happened? Why was the assistant prosecutor accused of being a communist? Why did the crowd want the mayor to resign?

There were, in fact, several answers to each of those questions. We had to give the first opportunity to answer the questions to the target of the demonstration, namely Assistant Prosecutor Yusuf Caliskan. He had been assigned to Merzifon only 2 months ago.

"They celebrate something they call the 'Secen Holiday' here. It is like the Nev-rus holiday. Last year, a young rightist was killed during the celebrations. When the holiday arrived this year, the atmosphere turned tense, and this time a young leftist, Yasar Kaygusuz, was killed. When the word got around that rightwingers had killed him, we began receiving reports of disturbances in the Alawi and leftist Nusretiye ward. Shortly after the reports, we heard of raids on rightist homes and businesses. Barricades went up, police was fired upon. The security force was not effective, regardless of how we tried. We wired to the governor, the Directorate of Security, and to the Gendarme Regimental Command. We informed them, in writing, that disturbances were bound to spread unless the local security forces received some support, and strict measures are put into effect.

"We received word that the General Directorate of Security was informed of the situation, but there had not been a constructive reply.

"Meanwhile, the situation had grown even worse. An explosion seemed imminent. Right-wingers gathered before the NAP's county headquarters, since the Idealist Hearths had been shut down. Some shopwindows were broken, but the police lacked the manpower you need to round up the perpetrators. The NAP headquarters had been closed



upon the request of party officials. Rightwingers, then, moved to the Mahzen ward where, reportedly, they formed a new group, the ULKU-KOY [Idealist Peasants Association], and henceforth, held their meetings there. The prosecutor's office received a number of reports about the new group.

"Some time later, we were informed of still another new association, Idealist Shopkeepers Association, in the Harmanlar ward. We also had a number of reports on it.

#### Sazak Killed

"I was on duty on the night Sazak was killed. We received a report at about 0400 hours that many houses and businesses were damaged on the Cumhuriyet Street. We investigated and learned that the perpetrators had run into the Harmanlar ward. We went to the Idealist Shopkeepers Association in the Harmanlar ward. There were about 30 youths between the ages of 15 and 17, sitting around, drinking tea. We searched the premises and found one knife, a shell and a number of wooden clubs. I ordered the people taken to the Security Directorate in order to start legal action. At that time, an individual, identified as Sedat Genckan, who reportedly was a member of the NAP County Administrative Board and managed the association, came over and accused me of taking sides. He also used some derogatory language. I considered his behavior an insult and had him taken into custody and moved to the Security Directorate. I informed the Prosecutor of the Republic and the County Administration of what had taken place. We received a call when we reached the Security Directorate. We were told that there were 250 to 300 people in front of the Court House, shouting for the resignation of the prosecutor. By then, it was 0830. Prosecutor Abdullah Battal came by and I asked him to take over the questioning, and we both agreed that it would be better if he did. I left for the Court House. When I got there, I learned that the prosecutor had already released the 30 youths from the association. He had, however, initiated procedures against Sedat Genckan and four other officials of the association. I also lodged a formal complaint against Genckan and he was placed under arrest. He should have been sent directly to jail, but when he was taken out, he disappeared into the slogan-shouting crowd.

"The situation deteriorated rapidly after that episode. In the Nusretiye ward alone, 1,000 to 4,000 shots were fired every night. Reinforcements came from Anasya, but we could not catch any of the suspects no matter how we tried.

"On Friday, some police officers went to the Harmanlar ward to have the barricades removed. They were fired upon. The clash lasted from 2300 that night until 0530 the following morning. The governor arrived in the morning and called all the provincial and county administrators to a meeting. We were told that an agreement was reached at the meeting.

"Immediately after the meeting, a crowd of 1,000 surrounded my house. Two of my children, aged 8 and 12, were alone in the house. The crowd had a loudspeaker mounted on a car, and they were shouting 'Communist Prosecutor! If you are man enough, you will come out of the house. You can't avoid us. Blood for Blood, Revenge!' My wife and the third child were at a neighbor's home. My wife phoned me and told me what was happening. I sent a police team. They could not find anyone. I took my family to the Gendarme Commander Erol's house.

"At 2300 hours, the same evening, we heard gunfire. That was Saturday night. At about 0100, barricades went up again in several wards, and there was a heavy

exchange of fire. Two women were wounded. Three noncommissioned officers were forced by the rightwingers at the Mahzen ward to stand guard duty at night. The noncoms were later brought to the garrison. I informed the Ministry of Justice about what had happened. Military units arrived in the morning and things calmed down."

#### 'The State Merely Observed the Incidents'

Another eyewitness to the incidents, RPP Provincial Chairman for Amasya Orhan Kayihan, gave us the following account:

"All the rightist acts in Merzifon were planned and their execution supervised by Sedat Genckan. When the prosecutor was writing his report on the search of the association's headquarters, Genckan came over to him and said, 'Why did you personally come for the search? This is a plot. I will make you regret it.' He, then, proceeded to attack the prosecutor and used foul language. The prosecutor ordered Genckan arrested, but the police officers seemed very reluctant. They moved only after the prosecutor repeated that it was an order. Genckan came into the Court House like a free man. He waved to the crowd. The prosecutor asked the judge to place five people under arrest, but the judge refused it. Finally, another judge issued ordersto place Genckan under arrest. Genckan walked out of the Court House with only two police officers. The crowd lifted him on their shoulders. The crowd, then, moved toward the Cumhuriyet Street, damaged several businesses owned by RPP people and other leftists. The gendarme intervened and the crowd retreated to the Mahzen ward and set up barricades, but as they were retreating, they threw rocks at several RPP homes and at the prosecutor's house. At night, they knocked on people's doors and made them stand watch. They said the Alawis were about to attack the Mahzen ward. If people refused to join them, they shot at their homes. At about 0300 hours, automatic rifle fire was opened on the ward from the minaret of the Nusretiye Mosque. There was also sniper fire until morning.

"The next day, which was 29 May, a curfew was declared after 2000 hours. The municipal government used loudspeakers and asked people to remain calm. Only 17 shops opened in the entire county. The Merzifon-Gumushacikoy road was cut off by rightists. The situation grew worse by nightfall. The prosecutor's house was surrounded. The prosecutor, his wife and children took refuge in the military garrison. RPP people piled up their furniture behind doors and windows to protect themselves. Despite the curfew at 2000, rightists were out, setting up barricades on the main road, burning tires and chopping down utility poles. The governor said that military units were expected to come to Merzifon as soon as they returned from Corum. The security forces in Merzifon were called back. They were not sent out to get the rioters. The state merely observed the incidents."

#### 'The Mevlid Was Broadcast'

"The Mevlid [a religious rite] was broadcast over the loudspeakers of the mosques in the wards under rightist occupation. Not a single person was taken into custody until 30 May 1980.

"Then, the military unit in Corum moved into Merzifon. They were accompanied by several low-flying jets. With the local police acting as their guide, they conducted a search. For some unexplainable reason, the very first house they searched was the residence of the RPP's former county chairman.

"They found 10 guns and a large amount of ammunition in the county alone. Sedat Gençkan, the mastermind behind the whole episode, was not found, and neither were his friends.

"In my judgement, it was a dress rehearsal of what they are planning for the elections."

#### Another Testimony

Orhan Aktan, the NAP's Merzifon County chairman, gave the following account of the events:

"Prosecutor Yusuf Caliskan, reportedly, conducted a search at the Idealist Shopkeepers Association in the Harmanlar ward in the morning of 28 May. People coming out of the mosque after morning prayer had gathered at the association for a cup of tea. The prosecutor and the deputy director of security, who is Senior Superintendent Deniz Tuncer, conducted a search which, we believe, was illegal. They cannot search the premises unless someone from the association's administrative board is present. They, reportedly, found a cartridge shell in a wastepaper basket. They took 32 people under custody. The search caused considerable tension because Gun Sazak's murder had already made everyone upset and tense. The search simply topped it off. The prosecutor and the deputy director of security, I am told, had had something to drink before they got there. People wanted to protest what they considered an unfair deal. Several thousand gathered before the administration building to secure the release of the people under detention. Sedat Gencer was arrested because he had a few words with the prosecutor. According to our information, 80 to 90 militants arrived in Merzifon following the closing of the TARIS [Agricultural Workers Union]. They, reportedly, settled in the leftist-controlled areas."

#### 'The Search Was Legal'

Assistant Prosecutor Yusuf Caliskan, however, disputes the NAP official's charge that the association was searched illegally.

"The prosecutor is allowed to conduct a search under circumstances cited in Law No 3,005, that is, when a delay would be inadvisable," he explained.

"Besides when nonmembers visit the headquarters of an association very frequently, the association ceases to be the association described in its charter, and instead, becomes a meeting place open to the public. Therefore, there was no illegality in the search."

[27 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] A Single Shell Goes for 100 Liras

RPP County Chairman Mehmet Turan charges that the rightwinger terrorists established liberated zones in Merzifon.

"The right wing established liberated zones during a 15-day period of sustained terrorist activity. They tried to provoke an Alawi-Sunni quarrel. Sedat Gençkan, who organized the incidents, is a trained right-wing militant. He has a record that goes back 10 years. He was a revolutionary between 1959 and 1961. He, then, joined

the Vanguard in 1961, and from 1964 to the present, he has been organizing the Idealists. The NAP's county chairman cannot do anything without Genckan's approval. The rightists were so bold that, at one point, they forced noncommissioned army officers to stand guard in rightist-controlled districts. The right wing wanted the prosecutor and the deputy security chief removed from their positions and they got what they wanted. Those two officials were recalled on Saturday. The strange thing is the NAP is, in fact, eroding the JP's base in the county.

"The governor called a meeting. We warned him that the security forces were not adequately strong, and that what happened in Kahramanmaraş can easily happen here. The governor laughed and said, 'About a hundred people died in Maras, and now it is peaceful. Have you heard of anything else happening in Maras since then?' State officials just about supported rightist terrorism. If the perpetrators of those acts were leftists, they would have been killed on the outset. They recalled the prosecutor. If they had only let him stay, he could have brought to light many of the dark aspects of this nationwide game.

"All the leftist factions united during the incidents. The left outside our party was on the defensive during the developments. We could have silenced the right, had we joined the united left, but we oppose violence, so does the party headquarters. The far right reproached us about our hands-off policy and it still does."

#### Letter to the Prime Minister

One of the RPP deputies from Amasya, Vehbi Meshur, had sent a letter to the prime minister before any of those violent incidents took place. Deputy Meshur, in his letter to Demirel, said the following in summary:

"The governor and the security director assigned to our province are not conducting themselves in an impartial manner. They join forces with rightist militants and terrorize the people of Amasya and its counties. One may expect this type of cruelty from an occupation army. Our provincial and county headquarters are attacked by gun-toting and stone-throwing mobs before the very eyes of the police. Our party officials are unable to perform their duties.

"When we, as the provincial leaders of the RPP and the JP, and as Amasya deputies, placed this sad picture before the governor, he told us that he has no control over the police, and that they will not take orders from him, admitting, in fact, that the state has no presence in Amasya.

"I am prepared to produce evidence to substantiate the accuracy of what I have described. Distinguished Prime Minister, the plan placed in practice in Amasya for some ulterior motive is very serious. I am concerned that there will be bloodshed, as there was in Kahramanmaraş. When and if there is bloodshed, the responsibility for it will be yours in the eyes of God, as well as the nation."

RPP Amasya Deputy Vehbi Meshur, long before the 7 February 1980 incidents, also wrote to President Fahri Koruturk. He said, in summary:

"Amasya is a powder keg. Pro-Gray Wolf police officers, assigned to special teams, raid homes day and night, take women and men to either the police headquarters at the Sanayi ward, or the artificial lake near the Kolay village in the Suluova ward, or the Yedikir Dam, and torture them. Our people in Amasya, or in Suluova, Tasova,



Merzifon, Gumushacikoy and Goynucek Counties have no security of life or property. These practices of intimidation, torture and terrorism signal, in our estimation, the approach of violent incidents on a major scale."

#### Factions Unite

All the factions of the far left in Merzifon united in the face of developments. A young man, acting as a spokesman for the DEV-SOL [Revolutionary Left], said the following to a MILLIYET reporter:

"The major problem with antifascist forces in Turkey is the lack of unity. That was also our problem. When the fascist attacks began, everyone realized that fascists do not care which faction you belong to. All antifascists are their target. We took all we could take; that is why, we united. Now, when we go on guard duty, or go out to collect donations, we work for antifascist solidarity. We washed out all the slogans from the walls. We are replacing them with our common slogans, and only in selected places, because paint is expensive."

#### People Are Arming

Gunrunners are having a grand time in the Amasya region, as they usually do in trouble spots. Rightists, leftists, and even the rival religious sects admit that the arms trade is quite brisk.

NSP County Chairman Ahmet Zeki Dulger says, "We believe that these incidents are arising from three sources: Gunrunners, external sources--those who would like to see Turkey weaken--and unemployment."

RP County Chairman Mehmet Turan observed: "A frightening process of arming is going on in the county. People are selling their cows and their wives' gold pieces to buy guns."

The spokesman of the far right in Merzifon had a similar observation: "People are using all the money they can get together to purchase guns from the gunrunners."

The unusually heavy gun sales were confirmed by independent sources. "There is a money-collection campaign in all the wards. Every ward has an elected committee, headed by volunteers, all of them respected individuals. These committees are entrusted with the purchase of weapons, usually the so-called 'Laz-made' guns which are manufactured in the Black Sea region. The situation is even worse in villages. All the peasants, Alawi or Sunni, are armed to the teeth, standing guard day and night."

#### Tension Heightened To Push Gun Purchases

Merzifon Mayor Abdurrahman Kargi charges that agents are provoking Alawi-Sunni disputes in the area to boost gun sales. The mayor says that all ethnic and sectarian groups had been living together peacefully until 1965. "We used to take our families to one another's village. There were no problems between us."

After 1965, with the onset of the population shift to urban centers, agents provocateurs appeared on the scene. "Gunrunning is behind it all," the mayor said. "These agents provocateurs are gunrunners who heighten the tension, create an unsettled

climate, so that they can sell more guns. These are dark forces. They infiltrate both the Alawi and Sunni sides and stir up discontent. Think of it, a single gun-shell costs 100 liras now."

[28 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Suluova

In Suluova, it all began on 19 November 1977.

Hundreds of NAP and Idealist Hearths members, also from the neighboring provinces and counties, were gathering at the Emek movie house for a gala sponsored by the NAP. The festivities began at nightfall. About 2 hours into the night, a gelatin dynamite device, tossed into the hall through a vent, exploded with a very loud noise, setting off panic and killing one person, wounding 14 others.

There had never been a politically inspired incident in the county before the bomb attack. People of Suluova look back at that night as the beginning of tension which persisted in their county through the months and the years after the incident. Angry Idealist Hearths members who burst out of the movie house that night dispersed all over the county and held protest demonstrations wherever they went. Numerous RPP and Alawi homes and business were damaged during the demonstrations before security forces could take things under control.

Suluova rapidly polarized as far-left and far-right camps. Woundings, bombings and other incidents of violence followed.

At the present, Suluova is perhaps the most sensitive and tensest area in Amasya. Irresponsible policies have drawn an invisible, but impregnable, line between the Alawi and Sunni communities, dividing shops, roads, wards and residents, and also human sensitivities.

Two industries in Suluova are said to be the major source of the tension in the area. One is the New Celtek Lignite Mines, described as "the far left's bastion," and the other, Saracoglu Touristic Facilities, "the far right's command center and a haven for fugitives from the law."

During the interviews we conducted in the Suluova County, we frequently heard allegations that these two facilities had been turned into "an arms depot and a militant center."

#### The New Celtek Lignite Mines

The New Celtek Lignite Mines, a joint enterprise of the Merzifon Municipal Government and the Beet Growers Cooperative, used to employ close to 1,000 workers. On 24 April 1980, even though contract negotiations were on, the mines were closed by the owners on grounds that the enterprise was losing money. The workers' union, the Underground Mining Workers Union of the DISK [Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Unions of Turkey], retaliated on 27 April 1980 by voting to strike. However, to prove that the enterprise was not in the red as claimed by the owners, the workers remained on the job and continued production on a temporary basis. Workers claimed that the company had "2.5 million liras in profits after all the costs were deducted from its income."

Close to 1,000 workers of the New Celtek Lignite Mines, which the far right described as "a communist bastion," had militant tendencies to a man. We were told in the interviews we conducted with them that "seminars and lectures on theory were held during the length of the strike." "Some of us are Alawi, and some Sunni, but this is our common struggle," they said. Veli Uzun, aged 50, told us, "There are no Alawis or Sunnis here, we are all revolutionaries."

When we asked them about the allegations that militants were hiding out at the mines, they replied:

"Every single one of the 898 workers here is a militant in this struggle. We do not need other militants to help us in this class struggle we are waging."

The DEV-YOL line was the general policy adopted by the workers. Muharrem Kurt, a former official of the workers' union, had been charged with killing a policeman, firing on and bombing a police car, and an order was out for his capture dead or alive. He was caught in Izmir this past month [June 1980].

Cetin Uygun, president general of the Underground Mining Workers Union, provided the following additional information on the situation in the mines:

"The contract negotiations between our union and the employer were deadlocked, but we were holding talks to work out a compromise when the employer withdrew its neutral representative. That is when our union decided to strike, but the employer said the enterprise was losing money and closed it up.

"Mines are under the control and at the disposal of the state. Private or corporate persons are granted permission to operate them, and can cease operations only with the permission of the state. The employer violated the law by declaring the mines closed. The ulterior motive there was to get our union out of the mine, and to turn the mines into a fascist enterprise. Monetary losses were used as a pretext. When the workers took over the place of work and ran it for a while, it became apparent that there were no losses, and that the employer had sold below cost to the Sugar Factories Inc. and had shown its investments as annual expenses.

"The employer closed up the place and announced that, henceforth, the mines would be under the state's control. Workers continued operations nevertheless. Production was raised, distribution was reorganized to ease the fuel shortage on the market, and the shipments to the Sugar Factories, Inc. were halted. After the operation, when all the expenses and workers' wages were deducted, 2 to 2.5 million liras were left in the company's till. The operation was halted, however, for the sake of safety, and the strike went into effect."

What did the representatives of the state have to say about the New Celtek Lignite Mines? We discussed the events with Amasya Governor Abidin Coskun. The governor sees the mines as "the source of anarchy." He said:

"The leftist group [presumably, the DEV-YOL] entered the mines after the 1975 clash between Mehmet Yilmaz, also known as Satisoglu, and the Underground Mining Workers' Union's current chairman, Cetin Uygur. Four or five people died in that clash. Satisoglu was sent to prison where he, later, died. The mines, then, came under Cetin Uygur's absolute control. The general administrative board [presumably of the mining company] decided in 1979 to close the mines, but the decision was not put into effect right then. The new government, on the other hand, wanted the mines closed, mainly because the enterprise was losing 120 million liras a year. The government told us to close the mines and take over its control. On 24 April, the administrative board endorsed the decision to close down. We tried to convince the interested government officials and cabinet ministers that it would be dangerous to close the mines. That's the stuff that nightmares are made of in this area, we told them. If you close it, we said, what may happen here is going to make the TARIS incidents tame by comparison. They are giving the day's production to the TOB-DER and to the DIKG-DER (Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Youths Association). The daily production level at the mines used to be around 30 to 40 tons, but after the close-down decision, the workers gave it all they had and pushed the level up to 200 tons. We informed the officials that the legal requirements for closing the mines had not been fully met, and that we can close it only after the conditions are met in their entirety. There are corridors 370 meters underground. There are allegations that they are full of guns and ammunition. Workers are familiar with dynamite. They have to be, they use it as part of their job. The strike which is on now is illegal. They had to contact the administration, that is, us, before striking, whereas they did not. It is an odd situation, they go on strike, but they also sell coal. Compensation to workers comes to 200 million liras which, we have been told, have been released by the Ministry of Finance. At the moment, we are waiting for the legal stipulations to be met in order to go into the mines."

#### The Saracoglu Touristic Facilities

The Saracoglu facilities are described as one of the major contributors to the tension in the atmosphere. They are located in Suluova and are the property of one Sevkettin Saracoglu, a man with an intriguing background. Saracoglu was one of the founding members of the Turkish Labor Party chapter in Amasya. Over time, however, he bought himself a coal mine and changed his political stripes. Impartial sources call him the organizer and the patron of the NAP in Suluova.

The Saracoglu Touristic Facilities consist of a hotel and a restaurant, situated at the entrance to the county. They are luxurious by Suluova's standards. The hotel has an open field behind it and a small stream encircles it on three sides. It looks more like a well-protected fort than a hotel.



We saw a group of people at one table, eating and drinking, as we entered the restaurant section. We learned that Amasya Governor Abidin Coskun had been there ahead of us.

The facility is managed by Erol Basar, also a man with an intriguing background. He was, at one time, a police superintendent, and served in Sinop with the current governor of Amasya. He was fired from his job when the Etevit government came to power. That is when he came to Suluova and settled there.

Basar could not get a job in Suluova, but some time later, he joined up with Sevkett Saracoglu. With the monetary and moral support of Saracoglu, Basar opened a restaurant in Suluova. Next, we see him as the manager of the Saracoglu Touristic Facilities.

We talked to Basar at the hotel. He informed us that he "may return to his former job in the near future." He referred to the New Celtek Lignite Mines as "a liberated area," where, he claimed, "the laws of the Turkish Republic are not in effect."

"How would you protect yourself in the event of an attack on the facility?" we asked him.

"No one would dare attack here," came the reply. "If 50 people launched an attack, 40 of them would die right off. We have no other choice but arm ourselves. We have to protect ourselves."

The Alawis in the area gained a voice during the term of the RPP governor, Erol Basar informed us. He insisted he had no personal grudge against the Alawis, and nodding toward a man in his sixties passing by our table, he said, "Here is an Alawi citizen from the Gumushacikoy ward. He always stops by to see us when he is in the area."

The white-haired "Alawi citizen" sat down with us at the table and talked about the pressure on Alawis. He said he had traveled to Gumushacikoy to visit with his relatives, but the situation in the county prevented him from entering the area. He was introduced as Huseyin Cimir. The last name sounded faintly familiar. Later, when we had time to go over our notes, we discovered that Huseyin Cimir was the administrative chief of the NAP general headquarters, and that his son, Mustafa Cimir, had once served as Alparslan Turkes's bodyguard. Presence of "an Alawi citizen" at the Saracoglu Touristic Facilities had, indeed, seemed strange, but having discovered the Cimir family's function, it no longer seemed odd.

Violent incidents that started in Suluova with the bombing of the moviehouse continued into 1980 in the form of bombing attacks and armed clashes between rival groups. Two incidents in 1980 stand out because they were directed at the police.

The first of the two incidents took place on 28 January 1980. Two workers, hired by the sugar factory as "foreigners," were taken into custody by the police. About 100 men and women gathered in front of the security administration to protest the detention. Most of the protestors were from the far-left organization YABA-DER (Aliens Association).

The crowd before the security administration was, in fact, protesting a police team of four to five officers under the leadership of a police superintendent brought to Suluova on the governor's orders. The number of people taken into police custody

had increased with the arrival of the special team. Leftist groups charged that people picked up by the special team were tortured. The demonstrators, who had rushed to the security department upon hearing of their friends, wanted to voice their grievances.

A police superintendent, Ali Kemal Buyuk, who was on duty at the time, decided to talk to the demonstrators with hopes of persuading them to go home. It was 1630 when Superintendent Buyuk, described as an unassuming, unprejudiced man, stepped out of the building. It was getting dark outside as Buyuk began to talk. He had said only a few words when shots rang out and the crowd surged forward. The superintendent was hit with sticks, clubs and stones. In short, he was lynched by the mob.

The investigation revealed that the crowd had mistook Buyuk for the police superintendent who headed the special police team sent from Amasya. Buyuk belonged to no group, leftist or rightist, but rightists adopted him as their martyred hero.

The second attack occurred on 14 May 1980. A police car, with the license number 05 AA 325, was sprayed with bullets as it passed through the leftist-dominated Ata ward. Police officers, identified as Bulent Yildirim, Abidin Koseoglu and Mustafa Ulac, were seriously wounded. Bulent Yildirim, wounded in the spine, was paralyzed.

During the police operation in connection with the two attacks on the police, a clash occurred [presumably between the police and leftists] where a man, identified as Ramazan Anar, was killed. Subsequently four suspects--Yasar Kose, Mustafa Irmak, Ali Yayla and Mukerrem Arkose--were arrested. Orders were issued to capture, dead or alive, another man, Muharrem Kurt, allegedly "the first person to attack" the superintendent in the lynching incident. Kurt was later captured in Izmir.

During the rioting in the aftermath of NAP Deputy Chairman Gun Sazak's murder, rightists damaged over 100 RPP and leftist homes and businesses.

#### A Case of Gunrunning

Gunrunning operations accelerated considerably in the area in recent years as they have in all other provinces where rival ethnic and sectarian communities are pitted against each other. One incident worth relating happened in Suluova.

İbrahim Inceoglu, a police officer, who had been on the force 5 years, was arrested when security officers raided his house and discovered six guns. An investigation by the Amasya Security Directorate revealed that Officer Inceoglu was indeed acquiring contraband guns and selling them to militants.

The analysis of the political developments in Suluova by the representatives of the major political parties follows a familiar pattern--each side blames the disturbances on the other side.

#### JP County Chairman

Hakki Ardal, head of the JP's Suluova County organization, made the following assessment of the developments in his county:

"It all began with the moviehouse incident. There have been many other bombings since that first incident in 1977. The Ata, Girne and Pazar wards have been

declared liberated zones. The JP supports neither the NAP, nor the far left groups. Every small, insignificant happening is rapidly turned into an Alawi-Sunni dispute. We do not agree with these intimidation practices against our citizens. Security directors do not last long here. We have had six or seven directors in the past 2 years. They stay 1 or 2 months, then, find a way of getting themselves transferred elsewhere."

#### NAP County Chairman

Mehmet Demirelli is the NAP's Suluova County chairman. He denies any responsibility in the events that have taken place in the county.

"We have had eight people martyred in Suluova in 2 years," he said. "There is an attempt to start an Alawi-Sunni dispute in Tokat, Corum and Amasya. People are shot at in front of their homes. Then, they take to the streets, where mob psychology takes over, and they damage property. The police is intimidated by leftist attacks.

"We have no problem about sitting at a table with them. There is no such thing as an Alawi-Sunni problem. We tell them, you are from the Oguz tribe [of ancient SW Asia] also, let's sit down and talk. The RPP has been trying to win them over to its side, but its scheme backfired. Alawis moved further left, they did not vote for the RPP in the 14 October senate elections."

#### RPP County Chairman

City County Chairman Yahya Deniz is from one of the local families of the county. He operates a gas station and owns an auto spare parts shop on the Merzifon highway. His major complaint is that whenever the extreme rightists go on the warpath, they take his place of business and his home as a target. He added:

"After the Sun Lazak incident, they broke 250,000 to 300,000 liras' worth of windows. I paid 30,000 liras to replace the glass they broke after the 1977 moviehouse bombing. There was a curfew after the bombing, we could not go out to check the damage. Whoever went out was arrested, but not the rightists. They went out alright, they went on a picnic. We didn't know what to make of it. Did the curfew apply only to RPP supporters and Alawis? Every time a car drives by, we wonder if someone in the car will shoot at us, or if he will throw a bomb. We have placed our lives in the hands of the Almighty. All I have is a 51-model Kirikkale gun I bought 27 years ago. I don't know if it still fires. The county administrator recently changed my license from 'carrying a gun' to 'owning a gun.' It does not make sense. It is very difficult to live together in peace. Friendship is like a tree, once it dries out, it does not blossom again. Still, we do not despair. There may come a time when politicians may tire of turning people against each other, or from spreading provocative propaganda, and security forces may forsake their prejudices practices. Then, the situation will get better."

#### The Governor

Amasya Governor Abidin Coskun's assessment of the developments in Suluova is as follows:

"Suluova is one of our sensitive counties. Sunnis are in the majority. Alparslan Turkes carried a girl from Suluova. Both the right and left extremists are strong

here. There have been incidents that unnerved the police. We cannot keep men on the force. We call in the gendarme. In the recent incidents, police officers were attacked while patrolling the Ata word. They found themselves in a precarious situation. They were surrounded. It took us 30 minutes to break the siege. One militant was killed and a small child died by accident. We searched the place and found a Kalashnikov rifle and an automatic. Things seem to be quiet for the time being. Corum used to be the quietest place here, and look what happened there? It has always been a sensitive area."

Several hundred people were taken into custody in connection with the lynching incident, but none were formally charged.



[29 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Tokat

"People of Tokat are shedding tears of blood. Political killings continue. During the rioting at Yusuf Bakir's funeral, all the businesses run by the Altintas family were destroyed. Their homes and offices were sprayed with bullets. When are the people in Ankara going to wake up?"

That's what TUCANLI, a politically independent, nationalist paper, published weekly, said in its 26 May 1980 issue about the events in Tokat. The news report in the paper continued as follows:

"Last week's incidents of anarchy and terrorism in the Tokat proper, and in Turhal and Resadiye had the people of this province shedding tears of blood. The entire week's events seemed like a rehearsal for a civil war. In Turhal, where anarchy is supreme, a coffeehouse was sprayed with gunfire by unidentified men. Abdullah Bozdogan and Cemal Aydogan, both rightists, were killed on the spot. Bekir Tamer and Ibrahim Aydogan were seriously wounded.

In the provincial seat, Idealist Cengiz Arslan was killed at the Meydan Market by a shower of bullets last Friday. Then, Dr Rauf Yardimci, a dentist, died when a stray bullet hit him. Yusuf Bakir, a member of the RPP Provincial Administrative Board, was killed at his place of work. In Resadiye, rioting broke out during the 19 May [Youth and Sports Holiday] observances. Many businesses were damaged before a 24-hour curfew was declared."

The Alawi and Sunni communities, which are about equal in size, are intermingled in the city of Tokat. According to Governor Adil Kerimoglu, what happened in Tokat is "an extension of all that is happening nationwide." Kenan Suzer, RPP provincial chairman, however, claims, "Alawis, to a man, voted for the RPP in the 1977 elections, and that made them a target of the right wing."

'The Armed Right Wing Found a Favorable Climate'

Kenan Suzer says the armed right wing found a favorable climate for its armed operations in the city. He says:

"In the past 6 months, armed rightists made it impossible for leftists and democratic youths, or the children of leftist families to attend school here. These youths had to be sent away to other provinces, some of them far away, where they can get an education in peace and order.

"Predominantly RPP wards and areas came under heavy pressure after the fall of the RPP. The local government and the police, unfortunately, have become an unwitting accessory to repression. The right wing refuses to tolerate administrative officials or police officers who try to take an unprejudiced approach to their jobs. There have been an increasing number of cases recently which illustrate what I am trying to say. The chief of security has been changed four times in the past 6 months. People are moving out of Tokat. Many respected people of leftist leanings, among them our provincial secretary and treasurer, have left Tokat to get away from fascist repression. They have moved their homes and businesses elsewhere.

"Those who are still here are under constant pressure. They close their businesses early in the day and retreat to their homes. Anarchy is so rampant in Tokat that a young man, Turan Bal, was killed in the court house by a convict under a life sentence while he was supposedly under the protection of the police and the gendarme. The rightist objective is to set up an authoritarian regime in Turkey. Here, the goal is to intimidate people until they are driven into migrating elsewhere.

"In Tokat, you can always sense that soon something will happen. Just before the incidents break out, a large number of rightists from near-by provinces appear on the city streets. Shortly after that, violence erupts.

"Yusuf Bakir, a member of the RPP Provincial Administrative Board, was attacked in broad daylight in his shop at the Behzat Market area. Bakir, a family man, was shot before the eyes of everyone at the market, and yet no one dared come forth to testify. Everyone is afraid of getting killed. Isn't this a typical case of how oppression and terrorism can demoralize people?

"Yusuf Bakir's body was taken from the hospital for burial. All of a sudden 50 to 60 Idealists appeared as the procession neared the city's main square. They began to shout obscenities about the dead man. They began firing when the casket was passing before the municipal building. The RPP deputies in the procession tried to quiet the people, but later, the Idealists accused them of firing their guns. We went into the municipal building, called the governor at his home, and informed him of what was happening. We asked him to give us protection. He had a meeting with his own people and told us that they were unable to guarantee our security of life. The casket was in front of the party building. We decided against taking it to the mosque. Instead, we had it moved to the man's village. They were abusive even when the body was being taken away. A curfew was imposed. Had a fight broken out, it would have turned into an Alawi-Sunni clash, and a bloody one.

"We listened to the evening news when we went home that day. According to the radio, the whole thing started when a gun was fired from the RPP building. The radio gave the governor's name as the source of the report. We called the governor again and told him what we had heard. He, apparently, called someone because on the subsequent newscast, the account of the event was corrected.

"At the present, young RPP supporters keep away from the downtown area. When an RPP youth is seen downtown, JP people immediately identify him as one of the rioters who broke their windows. The police picks him up and hauls him to the court before the young man figures out what hit him.

"This is not exclusive to the downtown area, it happens everywhere, except in the Meydan ward. That's another story. There, you have the right-wing militants, instead of the police. Those militants beat up our youths so badly that they have to be hospitalized."

Tokat had five different security directors in an 11-month period. They told us in Tokat that they were expecting the sixth man any day. A local paper summed it up as follows in its 9 June 1980 issue:

"Five security directors came and went in less than a year. The first one was Atilla Sureyya who was sent here during the RPP's term at the beginning of 1978. He stayed a little over a year. He was recalled in July 1979. It was also under

the RPP administration that Yasar Gokisik was transferred here from the Tekirdag security directorate on 8 July 1979. He just about made it through his sixth month. He was recalled to the central organization when the JP came to power. On 1 December 1979, Korkut Cader was named to the post. He reported to work a month later, but stayed about 20 days. Siirt Security Director M. Resat Yilmaz was assigned to the post in an acting capacity, and he, too, was recalled to the central organization 20 days later. Next, Sami Durmaz came from Konya, also in an acting capacity. He reported to work on 10 March 1980 and was gone on 5 June 1980. There were, indeed, five security directors in 11 months. Now the people of Tokat are waiting for the sixth."

Tokat Governor Adil Kerimoglu gave us his side of the story:

"I've been here 7 months now. This is the fourth security director. I have not had a security director with the qualifications I am looking for. The type of man I want does not stay here. We need an unprejudiced security chief who can control mass action."

Tokat got a new security director a fortnight ago. He is Sadik Koksul.

The Objective Is To Drag the Country to a Civil War

Tokat Mayor Feriut Zogan Koc made the following observation:

"Certain forces want to drive Turkey to a certain point. They foment strife and incite clashes by capitalizing on the characteristics of the region. In the east, it is Kurdistan. In central Anatolia, it is the Alawi-Sunni issue. Turkey was able to develop by maintaining its unity and cohesion. The goal is to break up the unity and to drag the country into a civil war. When people reach a certain level of maturity they seek peace and order, they do not condone anarchic incidents. This violence is invited by conditioned extremists. People of Tokat have not so far supported a single action carried out by students. I see it as an encouraging fact. We want the people to remain on the side of the state regardless of who starts the violence."

JP Provincial Chairman Durgor Kaya offered the following interpretation of the events in Tokat:

"Tokat has been used as a stepping stone. Alawis and Sunnis have lived together in Tokat like brothers and sisters, and have always helped each other. Extremists and political forces have been fueling sectarian differences with the objective of expanding their vote potential. Even so, anyone middle-aged or older, whether Alawi or Sunni, carries on a free-flowing dialogue with the other side. We are totally against extremism and provocations. The recent violence in the city was not the work of anyone from Tokat. There is a long-established dialogue among the shopkeepers and merchants of Tokat, whatever religious sect they belong to. Tokat will never become another Kahramanmaraş."

[30 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] Same Gang Sells Guns to Rightists and Leftists in Tokat

The Kisla ward in the western part of Tokat falls between the Eski Kale and Hac Dag. It is the oldest part of the town and abounds in the old style wooden houses. Tokat's old families live here. Rightists claim that they are in control of the streets in Tokat, including the Kisla ward's. The only part of town they concede to leftists is the shantytown areas of the Ogulbey ward.

Rightists also claim that anarchy began in Tokat during the RPP's tenure when teachers and students of the educational institute were sent to internal exile. "The principal of the institute, appointed by the RPP government, dissolved the teaching staff and packed a majority of the student body off to distant provinces, including Kars. The internal exile practice was carried to extremes, rightists say. It was more like a total purge which left only one teacher on the staff. The teaching staff was rebuilt and new students from the east replaced the exiles. Soon after they arrived in Tokat, these students dispersed throughout the city and were observed expounding leftist ideas. There were members of many leftist factions among them. Everyday, after the school let out, there was a leftist-rightist clash, leftists being the students, and rightists the ones expelled from school. Windows of shops and houses were smashed frequently, coffeehouses were fired upon with equal frequency. Incidents of that sort continued until the new students finished their accelerated courses. The unfortunate thing is that a number of Tokat natives joined the militants during this period. Some of them were kicked out of the Kaleardi ward by Alawis. Ward leaders got together and unanimously decided to bar them from Kaleardi. Having been kicked out of Kaleardi, they moved into the Ogulbey ward.

"A leftist militant was killed in Sivas on 28 October 1980 during a wedding reception. The man was a native of Tokat, and his body was returned here for burial. People gathered at a coffeehouse at the Meydan ward to wait for the body to arrive. There was an argument among the members of several factions over who would receive the body. The argument grew into a fight, but the question could not be resolved. At night, members of the Proletarian Union raked the coffeehouse with gunfire, killing two persons. The funeral for the two dead men was held separately, one by the Liberation, and the other by the Proletarian Union.

"Some time later, an Idealist youth, a student at the Vocational Lycee, was found dead near the TOB-DER meeting hall.

"That was followed by an attack on a coffeehouse at the Kaleardi ward. It was a coffeehouse frequented by Idealists. An elderly man died and an Idealist was wounded when the coffeehouse was sprayed with shots. During the Idealist youth's funeral, militants from a leftist faction opened fire on the crowd behind the coffin.

"The next incident took place in mid-May. Cengiz Aslan, an Idealist student from the Gaziosmanpasa Lycee, was attacked and killed in the Meydan ward. Rauf Yardimci, a dentist, gave chase to the killers, but he, too, was killed. The police, later, caught two of the three killers. Both were from the Proletarian Union faction.

"The Proletarian Union was active primarily in Alawi-dominated areas. Their objective was to drive the Alawi community into an insurrection against the regime.



They visited every village in Tokat where Alawis were in the majority and carried on leftist propaganda activities.

"On 12 May, Yusuf Bakir, a member of the RPP Provincial Administrative Board, was killed at his place of work. He was a tailor, a family man with three children, and a popular person in the Alawi community. He was murdered for the sole purpose of inciting the Alawi community into an insurrection.

"Yusuf Bakir's funeral was attended by about 300 people, including a number of women and prominent persons, among them former RPP cabinet minister Mahmut Ozdemir, Tokat Deputy Omer Bedeoglu, Ali Kurt, an Alawi leader, Tokat Senator Metin Somuncu and RPP Deputy Cevat Atilgan. Former Minister of Local Administrations Mahmut Ozdemir and Deputy Cevat Atilgan drew their guns and fired into the air when the casket was brought downtown from the hospital.\* That is how it all started. Later, despite a curfew, many of them went out into the streets and terrorized people. They chased Suleyman Emin, a retired teacher, until he took refuge in a shop, and then, they fired into the shop. They damaged quite a few places of business.

"The people who actually rioted were leftist militants from the Ogulbey ward. There were about 150 of them and they showed up at the funeral for the sole purpose of creating a disturbance, they were not interested in attending the funeral rites. When Mahmut Ozdemir fired his gun for no apparent reason, they went into action. That, obviously, was a signal."

NSP Provincial Chairman Mehmet Aydin, a lawyer by profession, charges that foreign forces have played an active role in the events that have brought Turkey to this point. Aydin claims that Zionism wants to control the world. Capitalism and communism, both of which derive strength from Zionism, are trying to drive Moslem nations into the Zionist trap. There are agents of these two systems here in Tokat, he says. Disturbances began in Tokat when a rightist teacher, Durnus Kuzu, was thrown out of a window and killed in Ankara. The situation became more serious, he says, when the Tokat Teachers' Training School was converted into an educational institute. "In the Nationalist Front era, the far right allowed into the school only its own people and sympathizers. It was the same story, only reverse, during the RPP's 22-month tenure. Teachers and students who supported the NSP were kept out. The far right, as well as the far left, take advantage of the sectarian dispute in Tokat to get people to join their groups."

#### CIA and KGB Agents

Faik Deger, former chairman of the Vanguard Association, believes that CIA and KGB agents played an active part in the developments. He charged that these agents had a hand in the killing of Abdi Ipekci and Gun Sazak, and in the escape of the suspect in the Ipekci murder. He claimed that external forces would like to frustrate Turkey's developmental efforts.

The following letter appeared in MILLIYET on 2 August 1980, along with the "Anarchy Report" installment:

"In the account of the Tokat incidents in the 'Anarchy Report' installment in MILLIYET of 30 July 1980, it was reported that I fired into the air. The report is baseless. I did not fire my gun. On the contrary, I did all I could to reestablish order. I request a correction. Mahmut Ozdemir, Deputy from Sivas."

Gezer says the liberated zone concept was introduced in Turkey in 1968 by the left wing, but the right wing was the first to put it into practice in central Anatolia. Both wings have a revolutionary nature, he says. Their aim is to control the capital city and its vicinity. He continued as follows:

"The left wing in Tokat is virtually imprisoned in the Ogulbey, Kaleardi and Samyeli wards where the Alawis make up the majority. There are some 5,000 of them. They say they are forced to live in those wards, which they call 'our zone,' and are not allowed to go into other parts of the town which, they say, are inhabited by Sunnis, rightists and apoliticals."

The MILLIYET reporter had to use an impartial intermediary to contact the left wing and ask for an interview. The spokesman of the left wing turned down the invitation to meet at a hotel which, he said, is "full of fascist agents." Besides, he sent word, we won't be able to relax and talk since the entire area is under rightist control.

The reporter and the leftist spokesman finally did get together and went to the Ogulbey ward, by passing through the Kaleardi area. They, first, stopped at a shanty whose outside walls were covered with leftist slogans. Then, they climbed the hill where the Ogulbey ward is located. At the top of the hill, the leftist stopped by a tree, lifted his shirt, and pointing at the gun strapped to his chest, said, "Look, it is already cocked. That's how I came to meet you. We may be attacked at any given time when we are in town."

The reporter and the leftist spokesman were later joined by another young leftist and the interview began.

"There are various factions among the leftists in Tokat. The major groups are the DEV-SOL, DEV-YOL, People's Liberation, Proletarian Union, Road to Unity and the Three-Worlders," explained the spokesman. He stressed that all these factions were united for action. He went on:

"We no longer think only of our own group. Fascism sees everyone who is not a fascist its enemy. Everyone is the enemy, whether he is a communist, socialist, democrat, or any other progressivist. What else can we do, but unite?"

"The fascist movement in Tokat started in 1965-66. They put up a so-called youth camp at the Mount Topcam behind us. It was a commando training camp where they trained young men they had already brainwashed. Then, they brought them to Tokat and enrolled them in the teachers' training school. The right-wing militants taught other students what they had learned and won them over to their side. Then, they dispersed among the people of Tokat. In 1967, when the educational institute opened, fascist militants infiltrated that too and practiced their coercive tactics on the rest of the student body. They also tried to enter the secondary-level schools. In the Ataturk and Cumhuriyet schools, they bullied, attacked, beat up, or wounded whoever dared oppose or reject them. They denied everyone the right to live in peace. Later, encouraged by the Nationalist Front governments, they organized and gathered strength in the Commercial Lycee, Industrial and Vocational Lycee, and in the Industrial Lycee. While they were widening their base in the student body, they also infiltrated the teaching staff. They declared war on all the patriotic, revolutionary and democratic teachers. Now, they have the entire city under control. They cannot tolerate even a moderate from the RPP, let alone a revolutionary from the left. They won't let them into the schools, they won't let them live in peace."

"Young people from economically well-to-do families go to school in other provinces. If the family cannot afford to send the children away, though, they go to the fields to work, or become somebody's apprentice."

#### 'Extortion,' Not 'Donation-Collecting'

The older of the leftist spokesmen charged that the rightists in the city received governmental support and had the police and the local administration backing them in their operations. He said:

"When you want to enrol in school, you have to bring an affidavit from the NAP, or an Idealist organization. You don't bring it, you don't get your child into the school. When the school begins, they start asking for donations which, in fact, amount to protection money. They sell their books on their ideology, hold seminars, have the kids commit the rules to memory, and then, hold open discussions."

When asked about what, in their opinion, was the greatest danger was in Tokat at the present, the younger spokesman replied:

"The right wing is waiting for an opportunity for a massacre, and the danger is graver than ever now. They realize they cannot eliminate us by themselves. They are manipulating racial and religious issues to incite the Sunnis into a mass attack on the other side. They want to stage an incident similar to that of Maras."

Gunrunners are doing brisk business in Tokat, as they have been doing in other Anatolian cities torn apart by sectarian and ethnic issues. These "merchants of death" are the only ones who are reaping a benefit from the strife.

The leftist spokesmen were asked, "You are talking of the possibility of a massacre. Can't you prevent it?" They replied:

"We certainly can. We are not sitting idle. We have to ensure our security of life. We are armed."

"Do you mean everybody carries a gun?"

"Must about everybody. Most of us have a gun passed on to us from our grandfathers. In the face of this very grave situation, everyone tries to arm himself as well as his financial strength will allow."

"Where do you buy the guns?"

"From the smugglers, of course."

"Who are these smugglers? Are these people fueling terrorism? Are they helping the implementation of certain plans?"

"Possibly. However, class struggle is not a product of provocation. Conditions were here already. Granted that there are gunrunning networks which sell weapons to both sides. Their men are in contact with both the rightist and leftist organizations. These agents change their color according to which side they are dealing with. We are not concerned with their political beliefs anyhow. We have to put up resistance and we need arms, that's all."

"Where does the money for arms come from? How much does a gun cost?"

"It all depends on the type of gun you want to buy and how much you are willing to pay."

"Which types of guns are sold most, and what do they cost in this area?"

"The most popular guns here are the so-called 'Laz-manufactured' guns. A 'Laz-manufactured' 9-mm gun sells for 15,000 to 20,000 liras. Czech-made guns go for 25,000. French 10-mm guns sell for 25,000 to 30,000 liras. Then, there are the 'Barabellums,' which are the best, and they sell for no less than 40,000 liras."

"How can a poor man find so much money?"

"Life is more valuable and sacred than anything else you have."

Tokat Governor Adil Kerimoglu commented on the gunrunning operations in the area as follows:

"The role of the gunrunners in the developments here is undeniable. When we probe into the matter, we see that they have important connections. We receive tips that arms have been stashed at a certain place. We move at once, we search the area, or the village, but we are yet to find a large stockpile."

According to independent sources, illegal gun trafficking in the Tokat area is conducted by a prison escapee, identified as Necati, who also has an earlier conviction for arms smuggling. He is said to be from the village of Vavu, 5 kilometers from Tokat.

A right-wing official we interviewed told us that this person, Necati, was a guest at a wedding party last May in the village of Miskincik in the central county of Tokat. "He fired into the air with his automatic and dignified the wedding," the right-wing official informed us. According to the other information he supplied for us, all types of guns are sold in the area. They range from the 32-mm MAT [a type of handgun] to the Akrep [lit. Scorpion, a submachine gun] and the G-3 [a type of rifle]. A box of 7.65-mm shells--25 shells to a box--sells for 750 liras, and a box of 9-mm shells goes for about 1,000 liras, while Smith-Wesson shells sell for 100 to 300 liras per shell. A right-wing spokesman said, "Gunrunners sell their Laz-manufactured guns mostly in the Alawi sector. 'I've already been offered 2,000' they'll tell you. 'Pay me 5,000 and it is yours.' Actually, nobody offers them anything. That's just sales talk."



[31 Jul 80, p 6]

[Text] 'Every House Is Armed in Zile'

Melih Sitki Tulunay, the judge that sits at the Zile peace court of criminal jurisdiction, died on 11 July 1980. He was shot 27 times.

Judge Tulunay, accompanied by a court clerk and an agricultural technician, left Zile for a village in the vicinity by the name of Yalniz to conduct an investigation in connection with a case before him.

The car carrying the judge and his party reached the Akdogan Bridge at 1100 hours. Three masked terrorists, armed with automatic weapons, jumped before the car and brought it to a stop on the bridge. They ordered the clerk and the technician out of the vehicle, and then, began firing on the judge until their weapons were empty. Twenty-seven bullets lodged in the judge's body. He died at the scene of the incident.

About a month before the incident, several individuals from the Zile court system had sent a wire to the Ministry of Justice. It read:

"We have no problems with the county administration, but we have a major complaint about our own institution. We sadly observe that the conduct of some of our colleagues is biased. We are particularly disturbed by the conduct of Judge Melih Sitki Tulunay of the peace court of criminal jurisdiction. He openly boasts, 'If you are looking for a rightist militant, you don't have to look far. I am a right-wing militant.' He feels no qualms about making such declarations. How can we work with people so utterly devoted to the NAP? We will appreciate it if we are transferred elsewhere."

Two weeks before Tulunay's death, we happened to talk to several people in the Zile court system and were told that Melih Sitki Tulunay is "a bachelor and has a private relationship with some right-wing armed militants."

The Tulunay murder was the latest incident in a series of violent happenings in Zile. What has been happening in Zile differs very little in nature and form from the incidents in numerous other counties and provinces grappling with the Alawi-Sunni problem.

A typical incident is the killing of Mustafa Tastangil in March 1979. Tastangil, a rightist, was shot while playing football with friends. Several groups, using the incident as an excuse, damaged and looted several businesses and homes of Alawis and leftists.

#### Rightists Place Bomb in Mosque

In another incident, two right-wing extremists were apprehended in the act of placing a bomb in a mosque. A tragic event, which could have touched off mass violence, was averted by a policeman, identified simply as Abdulkadir, who was subsequently transferred elsewhere, we were told.

On 5 March 1979, rightist students coming out of the Commercial Lycee in the predominantly leftist Koprubasi area were fired upon and beaten up. Soon after the news

of the incident spread through the town, gunshots were heard in rightist-controlled wards. That was followed by attacks by rival groups on each other's homes and businesses. Mustafa Aydin, a rightist, and an innocent passerby were killed, the prosecutor and the RPP's provincial chief, Yakup Kutlu, were wounded when they arrived at the scene of the disturbances.

The cases we have cited are typical of what has been happening in Zile, and what has been happening in Zile is no different from what has happened, or is happening, in Corum, Merzifon, Suluova, Malatya or Kahramanmaraş.

Alawi and Sunni communities have lived together and intermarried for years in all those places, but in recent times they were deliberately turned against each other for political reasons. Worse than that, through individual acts of violence and by provocation, such as the mosque bombing incident, they have been pitted against each other like enemies.

#### Leftists Outside the RPP Are Not Strong

Observers say the leftists outside the RPP are not strong in Zile. Even the followers of the DEV-SOL and the People's Liberation admit that "organizational status of leftist groups is not what it should be," and that "the right wing holds the initiative in the area."

These individuals, who describe themselves as "the spokesman for the revolutionaries in Zile," made the following assessment of the situation:

"To be truthful about it, our influence in Zile is next to nothing. The extreme right has the entire county, with the exception of Koprubasi. Many of our friends are unable to attend school. We are imprisoned in Koprubasi. Our families live in fear of their lives, property and honor. There are militants in Zile from Yozgat. They train the extreme rightists and provide support for them during disturbances as a striking force. We have identified and reported them to the prosecutor's office, but not a single step has been taken so far. Our major concern is that an attempt may be made to carry out a mass killing similar to what happened in Kahramanmaraş. We are not a large force, but in the event of an attack on our ward, we are not planning to say welcome and order them a cup of tea. We keep watch every night. The only way to enter into our ward at night is to give the password. Otherwise, we don't let a bird fly in."

#### What Do Political Parties Say?

Nurettin Turkeyilmaz, NAP Zile County chairman, Fahri Azkur, former chairman of the NAP's provincial organization, and Ruhi Bacanlı, the current NAP chairman, used to be classmates. They attended the Ankara Law School, and in late sixties, they entered the Idealist Hearths Association and served in the organization in various capacities. When they returned home upon receiving their degrees, they worked together to organize the local RPNP [Republican Peasants' Nation Party], and later, the NAP.

Nurettin Turkeyilmaz's interpretation of the developments in Zile was as follows:

"What happened in Zile is not much different from what has been happening in other counties and provinces. This is a communist tactic. They want to incite the Kurds

in the east and the Alawis in our area into rioting, and then, divide the country. We oppose oppressive acts against leftists, as well as rightists. There is an equal number of Alawis and Sunnis in the 126 villages of Zile. They have lived together for years as one community. Alawis are not the ones fomenting strife. These incidents are part of a scheme put into effect by people who want to dismember Turkey. Alawis, in fact, perpetuate Turkish customs. There is no doubt that outsiders were in Zile when the incidents broke out. The county chairman of the RPP is Yakup Kutlu, an Alawi, and he is a very good friend of mine. The biased behavior of the police during the incidents left a very bad aftertaste. We need officials who will side only with the state."

#### 'Wards and Villages Are Divided by Invisible Lines'

Yakup Kutlu, RPP's Zile County chairman, was wounded during the 5 March incidents. Attorney Abidin Sendogdu, who temporarily took over Kutlu's duties, told us he sees the Zile incidents as "an extreme rightist scheme." He said:

"Zile and Tokat are parts of a whole. The far right has chosen an area where Alawis and Sunnis live together [to put its scheme into practice] and it has achieved success. The situation at the present is frightening. Wards and villages of the central county are divided by invisible lines. Zile is closed to the outside world. Everyone knows everyone else in Zile. The NAP's county chairman, for example, is a close friend. We usually sit down and argue our points, but an hour later he may do unimaginable things against me. What I am saying is that there is no climate of mutual trust. The major problem in Zile, in my view, is the prejudiced behavior of the state's forces. The RPP does not have much of a rapport with the left outside it. Besides, there aren't more than 50 to 100 young leftists in the entire county. We call them amateur leftists. Their actions, in essence, are spontaneous, unorganized reactions to the pressure from the right. The NAP's county chairman is an individual whose name appears in MIT [National Intelligence Organization of Turkey] reports as a manager of a commando training camp in central Anatolia. He's known as 'The Colonel' within the organization."

Kemal Ogecimen, an attorney, who is the JP's county chairman, says the Alawis and the Sunnis in the county intermingled after the migration from the villages into urban centers. He believes the center of the turmoil is the schools. He made the following assessment.

#### 'They Write "Long Live the Red Army" on the Walls'

"Foreign powers are behind the turmoil in Zile also. They write on the walls, 'Long Live the Red Army.' A mentality which yearns for the Red Army is a mentality guided by external forces. The left outside the RPP is carrying out a plot and the RPP approves of it. No one wants to see a strong Turkey. Arms merchants are capitalizing on the turmoil. Sensible voters of the county have already made their final choice. The youth sector is reacting. Some people got their votes in the elections by intimidating voters. We also have youth organizations. They are the 200-member FUR-GENC [Freedomist Youths Association] and the 60-member JP Youth Auxiliary. Are we to send these youths out on the streets? We would be betraying them, if we did. Some time ago, a People's Hearth Association was set up below the RPP headquarters. RPP people frequented it in the initial weeks, but it was gradually filled with leftist militants. The RPP, finally, closed up the place. An extreme rightist youth was killed in 1979. About 15,000 attended his funeral to protest the killing,

and through it, the anarchy. They were not all NAP people, or Idealists, either. There were also JP people. I was there myself. Most of them came to register their opposition to anarchy. When the funeral was over, however, a group of people began to riot, damaged shops and other businesses of leftists. Then, the leftists held a funeral procession, carrying an empty casket. That was followed by some more window-smashing. They are using the youths."

Rafet Yildiz, the NAP's county chairman, thinks the situation in Zile is defused. On earlier anarchic incidents, he offered these comments:

'Every Home Is Armed'

"Both the leftists and the rightists had gone haywire until the new county administrator arrived. That was 3 months ago. Everything has been quiet since then. He does not take sides. We hold both the extreme right and the extreme left responsible for the turmoil. They are locked in a battle to impose their ideas on the community. If I had anything to say about it, I would not let political party leaders make radio or television speeches. One comes on and calls everybody 'fascist,' then, another one comes on, and calls everybody 'communist.' There is a period of tension in Zile after every speech. If they really love this country, they should quit unproductive arguments and dangerous provocations, and instead, they should do the type of politicking that will have a calming effect on the people."

Tokat Governor Adil Kerimoglu expressed a similar view, suggesting that political parties ought to form a genuine alliance to avert an all-out war between the Alawis and the Sunnis. He said:

"Zile and Turhal are the most sensitive counties in Tokat. The left is dominant in Turhal. There are attempts to turn the left-versus-right incidents into an Alawi-versus-Sunni issue. They are trying to keep the students in a state of agitation. I must stress that ordinary people do not take part in these incidents. People in Zile are the only ones who get involved, and it is because of Zile's peculiar social structure.

"I have been in Tokat 7 months. There is no Alawi-Sunni problem here. External forces, which would like to divide and destroy Turkey, find agents inside the country and use them to foment strife. The objective is to split Turkey. When we investigate an incident, and probe deeply into its background, we see that there isn't a single sensible, reasonable person involved in it, or behind it. What is happening in the city of Tokat and in the counties around it is an extension of the incidents taking place nationwide. The most sensible party here is the JP. However, I don't believe that actual members of the political parties, regardless of which party it is, would become involved in the type of incidents we have here.

"There is no liberated zone in the Tokat Province. Leftists are in majority in the Ogulbey and Kaleardi wards. Alawis make up a 40 percent of the population in and around Tokat [presumably the city of Tokat]. Wallwritings are immediately erased, but they rewrite them. There is no leftist organization in Tokat. The left provokes the right by individual acts. The institution of eyewitness does not operate here. I have also received reports about prejudiced action by certain judges in Zile and Turhal.



"This issue cannot be resolved by police measures alone. To rid this area of the type of problems we are having would take a sincere cooperation among political parties, whereby they would act together, and more important that that demonstrate a common desire to work together. Parties must resolve to avoid repeating the mistakes they made in the past whether deliberately or unwittingly. All the political parties must get together, address themselves to these important issues, and try to defuse this climate which may easily turn the ongoing dispute into an Alawi-Sunni clash. The feelings of hostility are already here. Political parties must get in touch with people and convince them that there is no such issue as the Alawi-Sunni problem. Actually, it must be instilled in government officials also.

"There are things that governments must avoid doing in order to ensure the continuance of the state. Governments must listen to the people, to their grievances. A government must put aside the political disputes and devote itself to the issues at hand. When politicians make speeches accusing each other of misdeeds, this area turns into a tinderbox."

[1 Aug 80, p 6]

[Text] Elazig

It is becoming a habit in Elazig to urge people to take care and avoid "an accident" while traveling from Diyarbakir to Elazig, or from Elazig to Tunceli.

Elazig, home of the Keban Dam and of 200,000 people, is becoming an industrial center.

Politically speaking, Elazig is an NAP stronghold. The municipal administration of [the city of] Elazig is NAP-controlled, but the NAP does not exist in the neighboring provinces of Diyarbakir and Tunceli.

Officials deny it, but the main street downtown divides the city of Elazig into two totally separate zones of influence. The railway station area is the NAP's, while the northern section, which includes the Fevzi Cakmak and Yildiz wards, is under the rival's--the left wing's--control. Alawis live in the leftist-controlled areas. Alawis who come to town from Elazig looking for work settle in those two wards.

Talk to anyone in Elazig, sooner or later he will steer the conversation to "the problem of the people from Tunceli."

According to the information supplied to us by local officials, the Alawi-Sunni differentiation began in 1965, and the problem has steadily grown more serious since then. The issue, they say, has been manipulated cleverly at every election, and it has been emphasized after each violent incident. It has become a frequent topic of discussion in mosques.

Separation of the two communities had become a firmly established way of life when, in September 1976, a minor quarrel between two young men triggered an explosion of the pent-up anger on both sides. A young man of the local NAP organization and a young man who supported the RPP had a spat at an open-air coffeehouse, and ended up in court. Both men showed up at the court house with a large number of his supporters. A clash broke out and an NAP supporter was killed. The news of the killing spread rapidly through the town, whereupon shops and other places of business were either set on fire or otherwise damaged. Most of those shops belonged to Alawis. Security forces moved in to stop the rioting; later however, at the dead man's funeral, an armed clash broke out and four people were killed.

That is how the "fraternal quarrel" finally came to the surface. The first to die was a young NAP man. Then, a newspaper reporter of leftist leanings was shot, and it went on and on.

As the killings continued and it became apparent that this was an Alawi against Sunni, rightist against leftist contention, a migration began within the confines of the city. At the present, there are no visible lines or walls in Elazig; it is, nevertheless a divided city.

Officials we have interviewed blame Elazig's problems on either political parties, or covert Iranian and Israeli efforts to start an Alawi-Sunni dispute.

The city is divided and redivided, first as rightists and leftists, and then, along ethnic lines, as Alawis and Sunnis.

There is no denying that land expropriation practices in conjunction with the Keban Dam construction have been instrumental in the rapid political and social polarization in Elazig.

Peasants whose land was expropriated by the state were paid millions of liras. They picked up their money and belongings and moved to the city of Elazig, bringing about a dramatic change in the makeup of the city's population, as well as appearance.

When the money from the sale of the land ran out, the peasants went out to look for work, but there was none. The social structure of the city felt the full impact of unemployment.

#### Ninety Were Killed

According to the figures disclosed by officials, over 90 people have been killed in terrorist action.

Last year, Annan Baydilli, principal of an intermediate school, was killed. A careful investigation led the police to his killer who turned out to be a student originally from Tunceli. He was apprehended.

Meanwhile, a leftist student, allegedly beaten by the police, was taken to a hospital, but the hospital released the young man, contending that there was nothing wrong with him. The student died shortly after his release. Some time later, Dr Musa Duman was shot eight times and seriously wounded. Dr Vahdettin Ayik was not as fortunate. He was shot while sitting in his office and died of his wounds.

Terrorist incidents in Elazig have nothing to distinguish them from the terrorist incidents elsewhere, with the exception that, in Elazig, the dispute is between Alawis and Sunnis, with the NAP supporters making up a majority of the latter group. In Tunceli and Diyarbakir, the warring parties are generally leftists and rightists.

Declaration of martial law brought an air of peace and tranquility to Elazig, although it was an uneasy peace that could be shattered at any time by a minor event.

On terrorism and the social structural change in Elazig, the NSP provincial chairman, Mehmet Selim Cicek, made the following comment:

"The current government is propped up by profiteering, capitalist holding-companies. The young people in Elazig are aware of what is going on, how those companies are raking in profits. They ask themselves, 'What am I? A slave to a state of this type?' That is why, they turn against the state, mentally, if not physically."

Cicek also touched upon the education issue, saying:

"I was talking to a lycee student. I realized he did not know much about anything. I asked him how he managed to pass his courses. He was very candid with me. He said, 'If the teacher is, politically speaking, of the same mind as I, he gives me good grades anyhow. If he is on the opposing side, we threaten him, coerce him into giving us passing grades.'"

Lycees in Elazig are either rightist or leftist. Right-wing students cannot enter leftist lycees and vice versa.

A 55-year-old peasant from the Karakocan County confirmed the accuracy of some allegations we had heard at the NSP provincial headquarters. He said:

"There is a forest near our village. It is crawling with anarchists--boys and girls. Villages cannot control their children any longer. You send them away for schooling, but you don't know if they go to school or become anarchists and end up in the forest. We have no way of knowing."

The Karakocan County of Elazig has a nearly equal number of Alawi- and Sunni-controlled villages, which are described as separatist havens.

Everyone we talked to referred to the Karakocan County as the center of the separatist and Alawi movement. The consensus is that Karakocan, because of its proximity to Tunceli, was a natural choice as an Alawi center.

The ethnic-Armenian leader of the TWPLA [Turkish Worker-Peasant Liberation Army], Orhan Bakir, whose real name is Ohannes Bakirjian, having escaped from police custody with the help of his friends who killed a gendarme to free him, was himself killed in Karakocan. The official explanation about Bakir's death was that he was killed in a gunbattle with security forces after refusing to obey their order to surrender.

Bakir was buried in Karakocan, but TWPLA militants sneaked into Karakocan one night, dug up his casket and took it to the Nazimiye County of Tunceli where they reburied him and held a ceremony at the gravesite.

The Elazig security director confirmed the incident.

"Oh, yes, we let them do it," he said. "We'd rather have him in Tunceli. Next year, his friends will cause a lot of trouble on the anniversary of his death. We'd rather have the disturbances take place in Tunceli. Let them do what they want, but in Tunceli, not here."

While the Karakocan County is the leftist militant haven, the Baskil County and the Hankendi ward are the land of rightist militants, according to our sources.

What it all boils down to is that rightist and leftist militants have separate bases in Elazig where they receive resident support and from where their operations are launched. One thing became very clear during our conversations with the people of Elazig and that was everyone knew exactly who was hiding out where and who was responsible for which incident. The curtain of secrecy was opening wider and wider. Yes, everyone knew exactly what was going on, but they were also afraid of what may happen to them.

The economy of the province is stagnating. People sell their homes and land and move away. Schools are quiet, except for infrequent and isolated incidents, and yet, there is an air of uneasiness in Elazig.



## 'Salted Two People'

JP Provincial Chairman Fahri Sunguroglu, whose party outpoled the NAP in Elazig in the past elections by 3,000 votes, claimed that the individuals involved in the clashes are outsiders. He argued that the plans for separatist actions are laid out elsewhere, and that even small children are inculcated with separatist ideas. To prove his point, he told us about an incident he had witnessed.

"I happened to overhear a conversation between two kids as I was waiting for a friend by a bus station. One of them said, 'Our people salted two guys.' I presume he meant his people had killed two men. If he, at that age, can talk about killings with such nonchalance, there is no doubt what he will be when he grows up, unless we do something about it."

## Political and Social Structure Deteriorates

NAP Provincial Chairman Kenan Aksin, a pharmacist by profession, denies that the right wing has been involved in anarchy or terrorism.

Aksin claimed that external forces, by fomenting racism, sectarianism and regionalism, are hoping to dissect Turkey. "Communist guerrillas intimidate people, and then, set up liberated zones," he said. "A large number of illegal organizations have been uncovered in Elazig. Anarchic incidents have not been too severe in Elazig, mainly because political party leaders get together from time to time."

Mayor Behmet Susmaz, an NAP man and an engineer by profession, traces Elazig's problems to what he called the Keban Dam episode. Landowners failed to invest the money they received for the expropriated land. As soon as the expropriation payments began to come in, the number of entertainment places in Elazig doubled. Most of the peasants squandered the money in no time. They, and their families, were left penniless. That episode, he said, destroyed Elazig's social and economic structure.

## The Left Wing

Left-wing spokesmen told us that many revolutionary organizations have joined forces in the face of the extreme right's repressive tactics. He listed the leftist organizations as People's Liberation, People's Road, Revolutionary Road, Revolutionary Left, Proletarian Union, Partisan, TSWP [Turkish Socialist Workers Party] and TLP.

According to these spokesmen, the leftist potential that emerged nationwide prior to the 12 March movement infected the Elazig area also. Those were the years when Ibrahim Kaypakkaya, later credited with the founding of the TCP-ML TWPLA [Turkish Communist Party-Marxist Leninist Turkish Worker-Peasant Liberation Army], selected the Elazig-Tunceli region as his field of operations. Kaypakkaya, with the help of Ali Haydar Yildiz and friends, carried out mass operations, impressed the Alawi community, and formed a wide base for his group in the Elazig-Tunceli region. Then came 12 March and operations were suspended. Later, organizational activities resumed. In 1974, the march, organized to protest the rising cost of living and persecution, attracted thousands of people. Some individuals were provoked into throwing from their windows heavy objects and hot water over the marchers. Agents provocateurs infiltrated the marchers and instigated a clash, causing the death of a 12-year-old shoeshine boy. Even so, the schemes failed. The far right continued to gain public support. About then, the leftist spokesmen told us, a female colleague,

Nuray Erenler, was killed in Ankara. We used her funeral as an occasion to demonstrate against fascism. Our slogans were heard even in NAP strongholds.

"The fascist movement spread during the Nationalist Front era. Our friend Tealim Temel was killed at the Turkish Electric Authority before the eyes of the police. Teachers were purged. Partisans were assigned to factories and state agencies. The fascist movement gathered strength under the protective wings of the government. Cemil Oka and Mehmet Zeki Serit, leaders of the revolutionary movement, were murdered in Istanbul."

Leftist spokesmen claim that Raif Cicek, "leader of the rightist movement in the area, who is known as the 'Basbug [Commander] of the East,' uses the prison, where he is supposed to be incarcerated, as if it were his father's house." Leftists claim that Cicek is allowed out of the prison from time to time.

#### 'Some of Our Friends Were Tortured to Death'

Left-wing spokesmen bitterly complained of torture they have been subjected to and claim that some of their friends died of torture. "A friend of ours was accused of murder and was tortured 16 days," they said. Another friend, they added, refused to confess to a crime he had not committed, even though he was tortured at length, and came out of his ordeal crippled. "Another colleague, Pir Ahmet Solmaz, was tortured 5 days and 5 nights, then, sent to a hospital, but the hospital said he was healthy and released him. He died the same day."

Elazig Director of Security Orhan Nuray, who is now the security chief of Hakkari, flatly denied the torture charges. "Go out on the street. Talk to 500 people. If three of them can verify these torture reports, I'll resign on the spot," he said.

"We do not have to use torture," the security chief went on. "There is no need for torture. We have police officers who are experts in certain fields. They know all there is to know about the leftist factions. When we bring in a terrorist, or a political suspect, we turn over the interrogation to these experts. Our specialists speak the same language the suspect understands. The suspect realizes that the officer is better informed in his ideology than he himself is. He knows he is defeated and tells us the truth. When I arrived here, there were no JP police officers. The men on the force were either NAP or NSP supporters. We took some steps, got rid of the politicized faction, replaced it with a team of crack officers. We have a very effective force now."

Nuray admits that the right wing is dominant in Elazig. He told us that when the Keban Dam construction began and several villages were flooded, peasants from those villages moved into the area along the Elazig highway. He is critical of people who take a look at the new settlements along the highway and at some of the others further inside town, and start talking of liberated zones. He says those settlements are the phenomena of our time.

Governor Kemal Katitas of Elazig had been on the job 7 months when we visited him. He, too, volunteered to resign on the spot if anyone could prove that he takes sides, or discriminates against one or the other community.

On the allegations of torture, the governor said, "One individual's testimony cannot be taken as undisputable evidence. We investigate the allegations one by one. If there was a biased attitude on our part, we would have apprehended lawbreakers of only one side, and let the others go, whereas we have arrested the suspects in all the incidents in recent months."

"We are not about to order tea for the suspects we catch," the governor went on. "The rumors about torturing people with electric current are designed to put in the people's mind that they will not receive a tender treatment from us."

"The man says he is not a Turk, takes out his gun and shoots a state employee. How do you catch him? How do you find the one who actually pulled the trigger?"

"This is not a question of the right or the left. It is a movement to destroy the state, and our job is to catch the people who deny the existence of the Turkish state."

The governor also believes that the roots of anarchy are abroad. Perpetrators of the incidents in Elazig, he said, come to the province from Tunceli and infiltrate the city. "All of them are outsiders," he insisted.

"Ethnic and religious differences have been fueled for years," he said. "When the dispute spread to the schools, teachers with a reputation as an extremist in one ideology or another were assigned to schools dominated by the rival ideology."

"I did not want to throw them out. I did not have the heart to exile them in the middle of the winter. Instead, I assigned the extremist teachers to schools where they will be neutralized. I gathered the parents and the teachers. I told them what I was trying to do. To put it plainly, I formed a 'coalition' in February."

[2 Aug 80, p 6]

[Text] Tunceli

As our bus moved on the smooth, winding road along the River Munzur, a man who had told us he was from Tunceli remarked, "They call this place 'a liberated zone.' To me, it is more like 'a rejected zone'."

Tall mountains, decorated with colorful boulders, rise on both sides of the valley where the River Munzur's copious waters run briskly.

The Tunceli Province is in this valley. As you enter the city of Tunceli by crossing an unexpected piece of flat land, you see the shantytowns of Tunceli slowly creeping up the sides of the Munzur Mountains.

Veli Aytac, mayor of Tunceli, says the shantytowns mushroomed on the eve of 1977 elections. This is a phenomenon that occurs all over Turkey before every general election.

Economically speaking, the Tunceli Province would not qualify for a township in, let's say, the Aegean region. It has a fodder plant and a dairy--that's all. It has, however, a very high level of literacy. Tunceli is very proud that the percentage of Tunceli residents who have had formal education is higher than the rate in any other Turkish province or county. How do you explain, then, why terrorism and anarchy flourish in a provincial seat of 20,000 people who are, apparently, well educated?

We put that question to various officials of Tunceli. They, to a man, pointed at the young men idly sitting in the rows of coffeehouses and leisurely walking on the streets and in the parks.

It is not difficult to capture the minds of unemployed, disillusioned youths, they said.

The TWPP's top man here is Hasan San. He remarked, "We have all the leftist factions here, all 49 of them." That means 49 different views are propagated in Tunceli. However, when it comes to which have got people to listen to them, he said, you can count them on your fingers.

"Father State is yet to demonstrate its benevolence here," Hasan San remarked. "Tunceli is a forgotten province. The state tries to assert itself by sending its gendarme and police forces here, and by demonstrating authoritarianism. The end result has been a total loss of respect for the state."

This was a view expressed in various ways by a large number of people in every one of the southeastern provinces we toured.

A high percentage of Tunceli's population is Alawi, but there is no Alawi-Sunni problem, even though there have been attempts to start one. Those efforts appeared to be primarily directed at the counties of Cemiskezek and Pertek.

In the provincial seat, every single leftist faction is represented, but there is no NAP. It is not organized here, nor does it have a spokesman.



The problem in the central county is the armed struggle among the myriad of leftist factions. In the Cemiskezek and Pertek counties, on the other hand, the struggle involves the NAP also. As a matter of fact, the NAP is one of the two warring sides in those two counties.

In some of the counties and villages where an Alawi-Sunni struggle is underway, the officials we interviewed talked sadly about how old friends and families who had lived there for centuries were moving away out of fear for their lives, and concern for their future, how they left their homes, belongings and land and moved out of the towns and villages they had called home.

An especially sad case of migration took place, we were told, in the Pinarlar District of the Pertek County, near the Elazig border.

A Sunni man was killed in Pinarlar 4 months ago. Then, two members of the TWPP chairman's family--his father Ahmet Yildirim and his sister-in-law Sultan Yildirim--and another man, Huseyin Ok [presumably all three were Alawi] were killed.

The killings started a bloodfeud with Alawi versus Sunni overtones. People were afraid to go out at night. Even in daylight, Pinarlar residents kept looking back over their shoulders when they worked in their fields and gardens. Rumors were flying about that Sunnis in other villages were being driven out.

Tunceli Mayor Veli Aytac told us the rest:

"To understand the tragedy of the migration phenomenon, you have to see the people as they leave their homes. Most of them cry bitterly. They are so overcome with fear and suspicion that they pack up and go, even though it devastates them.

"When we heard about the plans for the migration, I immediately drove to Pinarlar. About 200 families live in the Pinarlar District, one-half Alawi, the other half Sunni. They intermarried through the years, there were close family ties between the two communities. We talked to the heads of the families, tried to change their mind, but to no avail. They picked up their animals and moved away. The right-wing press had a field day after that episode. There were reports about how Sunnis were murdered in Tunceli. The stories set off a wave of fear that permeated the villages. The propaganda campaign started in Cemiskezek and Pertek. The NAP people there launched a scare campaign directed at Tunceli."

Those two counties are NAP strongholds. The NAP people there are said to be former JP members. The population in the two counties has a larger Sunni percentage than other counties, and the NAP has taken on the role of the protector of Sunnis.

By contrast, in the central county of Tunceli, over 90 percent of the population is Alawi. Consequently, there is no Alawi-Sunni friction in the central county where the main problem is rather the power struggle among leftist factions.

The governor of Tunceli was not there when we reached the city of Tunceli. We were told he was in Ankara. The lieutenant governor was away for the day, he had gone to Elazig.

We stopped by Mayor Veli Aytac's office. He was busy trying to get the motor of a well fixed, while tending to a gash on his head where the arm of the motor had hit

him. He was an RPP man. He was elected to his job by a margin of 25 votes. His opponent in the election was an independent supported by leftist organizations.

"Tribes carry considerable weight around here," he told us in an attempt to explain why there were frequent anarchic incidents in Tunceli. "I am from the Kiresenli tribe, so was my opponent."

The problems he listed for us did not contain anything that we had not heard from all the other mayors we had interviewed. What makes Tunceli's problems unlike the problems of other provinces is that Tunceli needs a minimum of help from the state to resolve those problems. The city has a severe water problem, even though the cascading waters of the River Munzur roar through the town winter and summer. Electric power shortage, an inept sewer system and unkempt shantytowns climbing the steep sides of the mountains are the other major items on the mayor's list of problems.

"Tunceli does not have much of anything to set it apart from the other provinces, with the exception of the sensitivity of its people. The never-ending struggle with the elements of nature and the isolation have made our people extra sensitive. Certain quarters, who are aware of this sensitivity, have tried to force themselves into Tunceli, instead of coming in with an offer of help to resolve Tunceli's problems. Their attempt failed, however."

The mayor's argument is substantiated by the Tunceli people's attitude toward state officials and state security forces.

Director of Security Hakki Kaplan related the following incident:

"There was an elderly cleaning woman at the hotel. She worked everyday of the month without a break, but received only 2,000 liras for her work. I told her I would pay the same amount if she worked for me 1 day a week. She agreed. She worked for me only 3 days. She kept dropping things, breaking dishes. What is going on, I asked her. She would not answer. Then, I realized what was going on. People were pressuring her to quit working for me. Finally, she left."

People have severed their relations with the police and other forces of security, primarily because of the pressure put upon them by leftist organizations.

Police officers assigned to Tunceli cannot find a place to rent. The same is true for teachers. No one wants to rent an apartment unit to them.

Two police officers rented a house at the Dag ward a while ago. Shortly after they moved in, the house they were living in and also the house the landlord was living in were bombed.

Finally, one wing of the Physical Education Regional Directorate building was converted into a dormitory for the police, and several lodgings were built elsewhere to house those with families. Teachers who cannot get a place to live in are given rooms in school buildings.

Mayor Aytaç told us some more about Tunceli:

"The birth rate is very high in Tunceli, but the population does not increase. About 50 to 100 people apply daily for passport to go abroad, mainly to West Germany. If the worker going abroad cannot take his family with him, he takes them to large urban centers, such as Istanbul or Izmir. We have been told that there are 20,000 Turks from Tunceli living in West Germany. People who cannot find jobs in their homeland go off to Germany to earn a living. Why shouldn't they?

"We begged and pleaded with a physician, appealed to his patriotism, and finally persuaded him to return to Tunceli, his hometown. He is a surgeon. We also have a general practitioner and two interns at the hospital. It took quite a bit of effort to get a nurse. What good does it do to us? There are no instruments in the hospital. Even the knives were rusted.

"You'll never guess how much an appendectomy costs in Tunceli. No less than 20,000 liras. People go to Elazig, if they need surgery."

On the youth and leftist factions in Tunceli, Mayor Aytac said:

"Our young people are naive, inexperienced. They say they will save Turkey. That is what they are fighting for, they say. There is no opponent to fight with in Tunceli, because there is no NAP organization. Consequently, they fight among themselves. People are tired of it all, have no doubt about it. The unending operations and clashes have isolated them from the people, because people refuse to condone their operations. In 1978, all the leftist factions got together and held a protest march to air their grievances against the municipal administration. They got nowhere."

The mayor, who enjoys the support of the Tunceli residents and his tribe, has considerable clout, which reflected in his demeanor. He looked self-confident and he exuded credibility when he talked.

The mayor's major concern was the school closings. About 80 percent of Tunceli residents have an intermediate-level education, if not higher. The least educated have an intermediate-school diploma, others a lycee diploma. It is the province with the largest number of newspapers sold. The per capita ratio in the central county is one newspaper to 20 people. That is why, the mayor pointed out, school closings have had serious repercussions in Tunceli.

A gendarme commando regiment took over the Tunceli Teachers' Training School a month ago and has been living in the school building ever since. The students--a total of 176, 132 of whom were boarders--had to be transferred to schools in other provinces.

Rumors about what had expired in the teachers' training school were still making the rounds. The students refused to fly the national flag, they would not sing the national anthem, they said.

School officials categorically denied the reports. They claimed that the rumors were started intentionally. In fact, they said, the teachers' training school was one of the few schools around where academic life was orderly.

The police had a different story. Police officials said the school had become a haven for leftist factions. "They burned the roof one day when they did not enjoy the meal they were served," the police said.

It was not only the teachers' training school, all the other schools had become an arena for factional fighting. There were boycotts, open discussions, followed by clashes. The lower level schools were closed temporarily, and the mayor was worried that the Agricultural Lycee, located at the entrance to the city, may have to be closed permanently, as the teachers' training school had been.

"They want to close down all the schools in Tunceli," the mayor said. "The trend was pretty strong during the Nationalist Front government. Most of the students are from very low-income families. They are boarding students. Please write these down."

The left wing in Tunceli is far from united. There are no "pro-Moscow" factions, however. Tunceli is considered the stronghold of the TWPLA, The Turkish Worker-Peasant Liberation Army.

The faction with the widest base is the People's Liberation "PRYA" [Patriotic Revolutionary Youths Association]. It is very influential in schools and carries on a continuous struggle against the Enlightenment and Apoist factions.

The Enlightenment faction is headquartered in the TWPP clubroom where the group holds frequent meetings. The Enlightenment has considerable strength and boasts of a fair number of membership.

There are not many Apoists in Tunceli, but the police say Apoist militants have a hand in virtually every operation carried out in the area. Clashes among the Apoist People's Liberation and Enlightenment factions' militants are daily occurrences.

Other influential groups are the People's Road, People's Union and the Revolutionary Road.

Officials told us that there are 22 active, and influential, leftist factions in Tunceli, and that the age among the militant membership ranges from 15 to 20.

Having to live in the midst of so many rival factions which are resolved to wage a relentless struggle against one another, the residents of Tunceli naturally feel a need for some security measures, and have demanded from the Directorate of Security to impose gun licensing requirements.

With the declaration of martial law, activists spread from the urban centers to rural areas.

According to police records, in 1978, there were 8 murders, 4 forceful seizures and robberies, 39 armed attacks, 15 demonstrations and marches and 1 boycott-occupation.

In 1979, there were 8 murders, 32 incidents where explosives were used, 4 forceful seizure-robbery incidents, 4 armed attacks and 1 boycott-occupation.

The figures up to April 1980 were 3 murders, 1 explosive-throwing, 3 robberies, 13 armed attacks, 25 protest marches and 2 boycott-occupation actions.

The murders included the shooting of the prosecutor of the republic with a silencer-equipped gun while he slept in his bed at home, and the shooting of the assistant police superintendent in Mazgirt.



Director of Security Hakki Kaplan made the following comments on the Tunceli incidents:

"Leftist factions here observe or celebrate 130 special days a year--Stalin's death, Castro's birthday, Deniz Gezmiş memorial day, to name a few. The observations take the form of lighting a bonfire in the mountains, shooting towards the city from the mountains, holding services by the gravesite, if the person being honored is buried in town, and hanging boobytrapped signs.

"After the declaration of martial law, incidents of this sort generally shifted to rural areas. Anyone over 30, generally speaking, is totally opposed to the type of operations carried out by these groups. Our colleague in Mazgirt, Assistant Superintendent of Police Huseyin Ozkan was martyred during an armed attack. We launched a campaign to assist his family. A representative of a firm downtown brought us a large sum of money which, he said, was collected at the place where he works. It was a demonstration of the people's feelings about these incidents."

Director of Security Kaplan said leftist factions get their members into state agencies as workers in order to replenish their group's income.

Another official in Tunceli charged that many of the mayors in the area remained in office with the backing of one or two of these leftist factions. He also supplied several names. The implication is that leftists, in return for their support of the mayor, are allowed to use municipal facilities.

In addition to the gendarme commando brigade, which had moved into the city recently, Tunceli's security forces consist of 225 police officers, 100 of whom are stationed in the provincial seat.

On 1 May, two panzers were brought into town as a precaution. "I seized both of them," the police chief said. "I received permission from the ministry to keep them here. Now, both panzers are assigned to us."

The police chief said his men work under very adverse conditions. He vehemently denied charges of torture. "We are all located in a single building. The entire administration will hear the noise if you so much as slapped someone," he said.

The major complaint of the leftist organizations in Tunceli is what they call "harassment by sovereign classes."

The RPP's top official there, Provincial Chairman Ali Hidir Kulu, meanwhile, complained that people are afraid to leave their homes after dark. "People are fed up. One day, we're going to take things into our own hands. There is no security of life here," he said. Hundreds of young men, in groups of five or ten, were walking aimlessly up and down the street, as we talked to the RPP official in front of a car dealership.

We left Tunceli as the sun was setting. Our first rest-stop was at a restaurant whose lighted sign by the road displayed a portrait of Yilmaz Guney\*. We saw Guney's face in several other restaurants in Tunceli. Apparently, that was the way some Tunceli residents wanted to express their feelings about Guney.

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\*Turkish film maker and actor, serving time for murder.]

[3 Aug 80, p 6]

[Text | Agri

Agri, one of our northeastern provinces, is the realm of the Sipkan, Celali, Cunkan, Bekiryan and Zilan tribes. The numerical and political superiority in the town of Agri belongs to the tribes of Sipkan and Celali. When you get to the bottom of the incidents that have taken place in Agri since the 14 October 1979 elections, it becomes apparent that the quarrel is between the Kilicaslan and Alpaslan families and the Sipkan tribe. Oddly enough, the quarrel began between two first cousins of the Alpaslan family.

Who are they? They are the sons of two brothers. One is by far the most powerful man in the NAP organization. He is Halil Alpaslan. The other is Orhan Alpaslan, who ran as an independent mayoral candidate in the 14 October elections and won.

Two cousins, one a prominent name in the right, and the other a leading personality of the left, are arch rivals.

The far left is rumored to have figured heavily in Orhan Alpaslan's election as mayor. He admits he is a socialist, but denies that he belongs to a faction. Some time after his election, he was taken into custody as a suspect in an attack on the municipal operations building. He remained in custody in Erzurum 47 days, but ultimately he was released. His version of the situation is as follows:

"Under the constitution, I am supposed to report to work right away. However, the Council of Ministers has already appointed the governor of Agri to fill in as mayor in an acting capacity so that the mayor's office will not remain vacant. I have taken my case to the Council of State and I am waiting for its decision."

As to the incident that led to his 47-day detention and his dismissal from an elective office, Agri's Director of Security Tezcan Ozkanli gave us the following account:

"On 7 April, a group of five or 6 people, described as extreme rightists, were fired upon when they went to the municipal operations building. Two of them, Emin Kilicaslan and Ahmet Salman, were killed, and Kasuran Ozdemir was wounded. Military units were called in, and the people who had fired upon the group from inside the building were ordered to surrender. Tear gas was thrown in, and they came out and surrendered. We found three guns when we searched the premises. Ballistic tests showed that the guns we had found were used in the incident. As the investigation continued, we also learned that Mayor Orhan Alpaslan, who was in the building at the time of the incidents, was very much involved in the shooting. As a matter of fact, testimony indicated that, the mayor had shot Emin Kilicaslan. We took the mayor and 65 others into custody and turned 59 of the people over to martial law authorities. The mayor was suspended after the incident."

#### Other Incidents

A dispute between two cousins from the same tribe developed into a feud and led to violent incidents, such as attacks on prosecutors, judges and police officials. Following is an account of the incidents since the elections:

\*In November 1979, Gurdal Merdan, a teacher and a member of the TCB-DER, who was assigned to a school in Agri, arrived in the city by bus. Unaware that the bus depot was under the rightists' control, he asked the first man he saw for directions to the TCB-DER headquarters in town. Two men left the bus depot together. The police found the teacher's body the following day.

\*Late December 1979, Muhsein Demirhan, chairman of the JP youth auxiliaries, was shot and killed by a gunman on the Kagizman Street, which is controlled by the right wing. The allegation is that Demirhan was originally a registered NAP member, but had transferred to the JP. He was killed, they say, for betraying the cause.

\*Shortly after the Demirhan incident, Assistant Prosecutor of the Republic Ziya Denizcioglu, who had handled the Demirhan case, and his wife, Zeynep Denizcioglu, a judge, were walking by the NAP headquarters when they came under an armed attack. The assistant prosecutor was wounded. No one was charged in the attack. The assistant prosecutor and his wife left town.

Halit Alpaslan, a cousin of Orhan Alpaslan, is a member of the NAP Administrative Council of Agri and chairman of the town's Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Halit Alpaslan gave the following account of the attack on the assistant prosecutor and his wife:

"NAP Provincial Chairman Nuri Mustafa Kilicaslan's son, Dogan Kilicaslan, was wounded. He was returning from a visit to his house when we were ambushed by nine people. The police caught one of them, but Assistant Prosecutor Ziya Denizcioglu released the man. When the assistant prosecutor was passing by the NAP headquarters, I am told that he made some derogatory remarks about a crowd of 100 to 150 people gathered before the party building. Apparently, one of the boys felt insulted, drew his gun and fired. They could not find the man. They haven't been able to catch anyone in Turkey. How do you expect them to catch him?"

The incident did not end there. A traffic police officer, Halit Hacıoglu, who had witnessed the shooting, was killed the same day as he was walking home in the evening on the Kagizman Street.

Following this series of incidents, Agri was placed under martial law on 24 April 1980.

#### NAP Founder Killed

In February 1981, one of the founders of the NAP chapter in Agri, and formerly the provincial chairman of the NAP, Isa Eraslan, was shot to death in front of his house near the Ikay moviehouse. Eraslan was said to have broken away from the NAP before the elections. There was talk that he had shifted his support to the RPP and NSP. There was another allegation, this one involving the Alpaslan family. Halit Alpaslan, a member of the NAP Administrative Board and a leading figure in the party, was said to be 50,000 liras in debt to Isa Eraslan. Eraslan, allegedly, asked for his money but Alpaslan told him to get lost, and 2 days after that episode, was killed.

Alpaslan denied the allegation. "There is no basis to the loan story," he said. "It is a lie fabricated to pin the crime on us."

In the latter part of March 1980, Ikram Aslan, a leftist employed by the Patnos Health Club, was walking by the Acar Taxi headquarters, an outfit controlled by the far right, when he was attacked and shot to death. A policeman, who happened to be in the area, apprehended the suspect. There was a fight, and the suspect fled. Soon after the incident, the policeman was transferred elsewhere.

#### Situation Worsens

The rising tension climaxed in Agri on 1 April 1980. Haci Mustafa Kilicaslan, NAP provincial chairman and the most powerful figure in the NAP wing of the Sipkan tribe, was killed during an armed attack on the Kagizman Street. The incident touched off a riot where small groups roamed the city streets smashing windows and damaging leftist-run shops and businesses, among them the Karınca Bookstore, the Tac Photographic Studio, the Municipal Administration Building, RPP Chairman Hasan Taysun's home, his son Hasan Taysun's car and the house of an RPP official, identified as Kerim Yildiz. Ahmet Taysun and the owner of the photography studio were slightly hurt during the incidents.

A day after the Kilicaslan murder, a YSE (Road, Water and Electric Power Administration) worker, Kerim Er, reportedly a member of the Freedom Road, was dragged out of a service car and shot. Maksut Aslan, an accountant who worked for the Educational Institute, who happened to be a leftist, was abducted by a group of men soon after he withdrew some money from a bank. His body was discovered 20 days later.

On 3 April, Mehmet Nuri Yildiz, a member of the RPP Diyadin County Youth Auxiliary, and his brother Fevzi Yildiz stepped down from an Agri Tur bus across the municipal building and were shot by a group of gunmen. Fevzi Yildiz was killed immediately. His older brother, who was seriously wounded, was permanently paralyzed.

On 7 April, Mustafa Gurtulu and Nevzat Demirci, both teachers in the village of Ozdilek in Agri, were abducted by a group which, allegedly, included several men in police uniform. The teachers were lured away by a fabricated message that they were expected at a meeting at the National Education Directorate. The bodies of the teachers were found a day later along the Askale highway.

Also on 7 April, the shooting incident which involved the mayor of Agri took place.

On 20 April, Behzat Vural, a TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) technician, who worked at the Tahir television transmitter, was stopped by a group of men as he was entering the Gok Hotel next to the Kilicaslan Hotel. When the men found a TRT-SEN (Comprehensive Turkish Radio and Television Employees Association) membership card on him, they killed him on the spot.

On 11 May, Yunus Bag, a student at the Chemical Engineering School, was shot and killed in front of the Central Police Headquarters. A gendarme private apprehended the killer, later identified as Orhan Kilicaslan, who was still carrying the murder weapon.

On 30 May, gunmen opened fire on a municipal bus as the bus approached the downtown area on the Kagizman Street. Two municipal workers, Ismail Yigit and Binali Tan, were killed. Several of the gunmen were caught, but later freed, following the testimony of a superintendent of the police and a policeman who, left-wing groups charge, were NAP members.



## Views

Agri's population is a composite of a number of tribes which are divided within along political lines. It is not surprising to find in one tribe members of the RPP and various leftist groups outside the RPP, as well as members of the JP, NAP and other right-wing groups. The youths in the city of Agri, on the other hand, are totally polarized as far-right and far-left groups.

Halit Alpaslan, who became the leading figure in the NAP organization after NAP Provincial Chairman Mustafa Kilicaslan was killed, charges, "They would have had a foreign flag flying here long ago, if it were not for the NAP's youthful members." Kilicaslan said:

"The mayor is my first cousin. We are all from the Sipkan tribe. We are Turks and Moslems. They attack our flag, they attack our religion. In this country, the state recognizes us all the rights we can ask for. We can become deputies, senators, even the president. We support the NAP because NAP youths put up an effective fight against communism. We were JP members until 1970. The JP does not have youthful members, the NAP does, and NAP youths are anticommunist. That's why, we finally decided in 1970 to join the NAP.

"This is civil war. We have guards during the night. These incidents are dragging Turkey in disaster. Political parties somehow must get together."

'Everything's Coming up Roses in Agri'

JP Provincial Chairman Fehmi Bigun is convinced that all the violent incidents happen because "Erevit protects the extreme left." "Everything is coming up roses in Agri," he said.

Under the government of our Chairman Suleyman Demirel, the situation in Agri became very promising. We are just about ready to begin exporting our goods. Under the RPP government, the educational institute had become a state within a state. We would have had a repeat of the Kahramanmaraş incidents if it weren't for General Ali Yavuz. We have no complaints about the police. The ethnic tribes here respect the state. They are devoted to the national flag. There are attempts to stir up a dispute among the tribes. Leftists come here from Kars. Former Mayor Orhan Alpaslan filled the municipal government with militants who shared his ideology. I don't have much hope for the country's future if the current government falls."

RPP Provincial Chairman Left the City

After the incidents touched off by the killing of the NAP Provincial Chairman Mustafa Kilicaslan, his RPP counterpart, Hasan Taysun, left Agri and settled in Dogubeyazit, charging that "there was no security of life" in Agri.

The secretary of the RPP Provincial Administrative Board, Fevzi Bulut, commented on the events in Agri:

"In Agri, and in many other provinces, RPP supporters say they want to see the men they elected to office by their side in their hour of need. Close to 20 progressives were killed during the 7-month JP term. None here saw the men they had cast their votes for again, not even during the difficult days. We contacted the general

headquarters several times. They did not listen to us. People in Turkey are on the side of the party which fights for democracy. Fascism is on the offensive against democracy and the leftist circles. You cannot fool people by rhetorics, it does not work in Turkey any more. We must remember it if we, the RPP, want to hold on to our base among the people.

"The 'large landholders,' the 'beys,' 'profiteers' and the sovereign class were greatly disturbed by the surging democratic opposition of the people. They tried to silence that opposition by staging the recent incidents. We believe that patriotic people who are devoted to democracy and the RPP will persist in the struggle for democracy."

Agri's 35-year-old Director of Security Tescan Ozkanli gave us the following assessment of the situation in the city where, he said, security of life and property is his top priority:

"The struggle here is not the run-of-the-mill left versus right contest. We have here illegal organizations which are working to set up a state on a piece of territory stretching from the northwestern to the southeastern sections of Turkey and includes Iranian and northern Iraqi soil. Then, we also have a group of people who want to see the regime founded by Ataturk continue."

#### Views of Illegal Organizations

Spokesmen for the illegal organization in Agri blame the crisis in Turkey on "the country's dependence on imperialism." "Having lost the foothold they had in the Middle East, imperialists would like to make Turkey an outpost in the region," they said.

The following general view was expressed by the spokesman on the crisis in Turkey:

"The NATO meeting in Ankara is a concrete example. The purpose of such meetings is to frustrate the Turkish people's struggle for independence, democracy and socialism. They want to suppress our people's anti-imperialist and national democratic struggle in the east and southeast by means of terrorism and violence. Agri is one of the provinces where those repressive tactics were implemented. Mayor Orhan Alpaslan's democratic efforts were undermined and people were terrorized by the fascists. It is the primary duty of all revolutionary democrats to unite their forces and to resist those repressive practices in a militant and resolute manner."

[4 Aug 80, p 6]

[Text] Erzurum

A scorching July sun above. . . dough-soft asphalt under the feet. . . snow-capped mountains in the horizon. . . women clad in pure-wool "ehrams," which reveal only their eyes. . . busy people minding their business. This is Erzurum in early July.

Our preconceived ideas about Erzurum were based on our experiences in Yozgat, and as we learned more about the city, it became apparent that not all those preconceived ideas were wrong. The political makeup of the city is 80 percent NAP, JP and NSP, and its streets are dominated by youths who call themselves "Idealists." The RPP and the miniscule left outside the RPP are squeezed into the Sutevler and Delicmer Tarlasi wards of the town.

We began our interviews with the RPP's and other leftist groups' spokesmen.

At the end of the first day of interviews in the city, when we had just sat down for dinner in a restaurant downtown Erzurum, a tall, well-built young man showed up by our table, introduced himself as a police officer and a member of the POL-DER (Police Association), and said, "You have no security here. I will protect you, if you wish."

"We don't feel any necessity for protection," we told the young man.

The incident dampened our spirits. We hurried through the meal and returned to our hotel. The phone rang soon after we had settled down. It was the political police chief in Erzurum, Taylan Karaca.

"We have had warnings of an attack, an attempt to kill you," he said and told us that he was sending over a police officer.

Our guard arrived shortly before midnight. We all sat down in the hotelroom and had a long chat. Then, he left us.

Erzurum's Director of Security Ismail Kose was born and raised in Erzurum. He painted for us the following picture of his hometown:

"It is not the NAP in Erzurum. Here, the rightists are solidly united. Erzurum was once invaded by Russians. That's the source of the nationalistic, anticommunist feelings here. Winters are very severe in this area. The community is isolated for months. That is why, there have not been much change or growth in the cultural, economic or educational level of the community. Children are initially put through a strict Islamic training. Only after the religious training will their families let them go to elementary school. There isn't any friction to speak of among political parties. The left is represented here by the RPP which, in the last election, was able to elect two deputies in Erzurum. Let me underline that the views of an RPP man in Erzurum are different from, let's say, an Ankara man's. An Erzurum man would probably get kicked out of the party headquarters in Ankara for defending fascism. A case in point is Geman Polat who was beaten up in Ankara.

"There is no organized effort here to create anarchy. About 80 percent of the incidents here in Erzurum involve the use of a knife or a similarly sharp instrument.

There is no organized killing. Guns are not used. The single exception was the Erol Gur case. He was the RPP's provincial secretary and was wounded by a gunshot. The gun used in that incident was a 7.65. I am sure you are aware that terrorists do not go for 7.65 caliber guns. It was the month I was assigned here that five parliamentarians, including the former Interior Minister Fehmi Gunes, visited us. They toured the city, stayed for dinner, and then, left. I'd be very surprised if five NAP parliamentarians went to Diyarbakir, or to Tunceli, toured the city and had their dinner there."

Security Chief: 'I am a Rightist'

We touched on personal matters also in our interview with Erzurum Security Director Ismail Kose. He told us of his concept of what his duties entailed.

"We set four guidelines for ourselves when we took over this position. They are, to battle against immorality, bribery and communism, and to act with a full realization of our responsibilities. We have not strayed off those guidelines."

We interrupted the security chief with the following question.

"Is resisting fascist pressure part of your understanding of your duties?"

He replied:

"There is no question of fascist pressure. There have not been any transfers to or from my cadre here on grounds of ideological excesses. There is, for example, a police officer assigned to the Sanayi ward station who is a member of the POL-DER, but there has not been any complaint about him, nor has there been any trouble in the city. Provocations in Erzurum come from the outside."

We, then, asked him to comment on some of the rumors about him.

"We have been told that you are planning to run for the National Assembly in the next elections as an NAP candidate. Will you?"

"I was a county administrator before I was assigned to my current job. I am expecting a governorship. There is no basis to the rumors of my going after a deputyship. If you want to know my political beliefs, I am a rightist and a nationalist."

What the security chief had told us about the general use of knives or skewers in the incidents in Erzurum was correct. Nobody disputed it, but there were some who took issue with his interpretation that it indicated the absence of organized anarchy in Erzurum.

A state official said, "Knives and skewers are used in a very professional manner. For example, a knife is plunged right into a man's heart through his ribs. We believe that these weapons are preferred because they do not make any noise."

Leftists had another explanation:

"Erzurum people are generally against terrorism. Using a gun in an attack will increase the chances of discovery. Erzurum people themselves will go out and get the culprit. When some rightists robbed a bank, people grabbed the robbers. That is why, they prefer the quiet weapons. They use bread knives, for instance, the type



you can purchase from street vendors. After they stab someone, they do not even bother to retrieve the knife."

On 19 June 1977, Docent Orhan Yavuz of the Erzurum Ataturk University was assaulted on campus by an armed group and died of the wounds he received during the attack. They were made with a skewer. The murder was not solved.

In April 1976, Mahmut Yildirim, a senior in the Agricultural Faculty, was killed at the Cifte Minareler ward when he was fired upon from several directions. Yildirim was from Divrigi. He was a member of the Revolutionary Road. He had also served as the chairman of the Erzurum Higher-Education Students Association.

During the years when those incidents took place, there were leftist organizations in Erzurum, but they were not extremist. Extremist left organizations were set up by students who came to the Ataturk University from other provinces.

#### Death of the First Idealist

On 3 June 1976, Muhammed Saglam, a Management Faculty student and a member of the Revolutionary Road, was attacked by a group of Idealists on the Gulahmet Street. Saglam pulled out his gun to fight back his attackers. The bullets fired by Saglam's gun were shown to be the cause of Kemal Durmaz's death. Durmaz, one of the attackers, was an Idealist.

The right wing retaliated by armed attacks on the wards, homes, hotels, coffeehouses and cafes controlled, or frequented, by extreme leftists. Continually harassed by armed raids and assaults, extremists on the left, most of whom were from other provinces, decided to leave Erzurum. There were very few extreme leftist militants who were natives of Erzurum, and after the nonresident militants left, leftist factions outside the NAP just about disappeared. Also with the exodus of the leftists, the streets of Erzurum were left under the absolute control of the extreme right elements.

According to the far right, "every child born in Erzurum is born an Idealist." "That is how closely Erzurum people identify with the NAP and the Idealists," they say.

NAP Youth Auxiliaries Chairman Fikri Karabulut charged, "Only communism uses anarchy as a means to achieve an end." He added:

"There is lack of state authority. Consequently, we have to protect ourselves by ourselves. We armed ourselves for self-defense. No religious doctrine or sectarian dispute would condemn our actions. Leftists are the subversives, but they are not active here."

NAP Provisional Chairman Necati Gullulu told us that the NAP received about 4,000 votes in Erzurum in the 1979 elections. "Today," he said, "we have surpassed the R.P.'s strength," and explained:

"We owe our strength to our national chairman and to the consistency of the NAP policies. Our progress is more substantial than Yozgat's. Idealist cadres in Erzurum are more devoted to their cause. The allegations that NAP people have taken over the state cadres in Erzurum are baseless. The NAP's progress and growth of its

youthful cadres frustrate the other political parties. So much so that the NAP-JP alliance, commonplace in other provinces, could not be formed in Erzurum. The JP tried to hurt the NAP's prestige by staging kidnappings for ransom and other equally obnoxious incidents. The frustration is understandable in the face of the NAP's rapid growth which produced a lopsided political situation. However, here in Erzurum, anybody can go out at night and feel perfectly safe, while it is impossible to ensure someone's safety in Ankara, the capital. The Idealist movement has ensured security here. Erzurum fully identifies with the Idealists. When a drunk yells in the streets, he says he is proud to be an Idealist. Children use Idealist slogans when they put on mock fights. It is against our policy to interfere with police work, but proper education for the young is one of our major concerns. Turkish nation has been hurt badly by the misguided educational system. There is a large number teachers here who are fully dedicated to the Idealist movement. We did not use influence to have these teachers sent here. They were assigned here through regular channels. Their assignments were made by the JP government."

9 Aug 80, p 6

#### [Text] Leftists Avoid Erzurum

RPP Erzurum Provincial Chairman Aytekin Bayraktar, talking about the situation in his city, declared his organization's opposition to the extreme left, as well as the extreme right. He said:

"There is no left wing in Erzurum. I'd say there are no more than 10 leftists here. We are law-abiding people. We have been on the defensive for so long that we have no strength left to put up a fight. We love our country. That is why, we have not started an armed struggle. We do not believe that the rightists and the leftists in Erzurum are the type to resort to guns. There are, though, forces who are arming them, because they want to partition Turkey. The university is under the extreme right's domination. People with leftist leanings are not allowed to attend the university, and that includes RPP people also. You run the risk of getting killed if you publicly express support for the RPP in Erzurum. Today, the struggle is between the NAP and the NSP. Terrorist incidents are the work of a very few individuals. Should violence break out here, the situation will be far worse than it ever was in Corum and Yozgat. Erzurum is unbelievably tolerant and patient up to a point, but beyond that point nothing can hold back the people here. Our provincial secretary was wounded recently. We would have had a bloodbath, had it been the NAP secretary. We have police bodyguards shadowing us day and night.

"Leftists in the Sutevler, Deliomer Tarlasi wards and in one section of the Sanayi ward were harassed when the Demirel government came to power. An elderly man, a War of Independence medal holder, came to us recently, with tears running down his face. The police, apparently, raided his house one night and searched his daughter-in-law. 'Why are we subjected to such humiliation?' he kept saying."

#### Grievances of the Left Outside the RPP

The left wing outside the RPP is a very small group, you can count them on your fingers. Their grievances concern armed right wing activists and the militants in state offices.

"The NAP provincial cadre in Erzurum is moderate and has no control over the groups roaming the streets. The armed right-wing activists in Erzurum receive their orders from the central organization. Even the central body, however, is losing its grip over them. Suppose a leftist is about to take a bus to Erzurum from a near-by county. A call is put through right away from that county to Erzurum. The information is passed on in a half-veiled manner like, there will be two cans of cooking oil in certain seats on a certain bus. People are roughed up the minute they step out of the bus. It happened recently. Apparently, the people here were given over the phone the number of the seats where the leftists would be sitting. Obviously, the two men in question exchanged their seats with two elderly men. Those elderly men were beaten up when they got into Erzurum. They had no political affiliations and they could not figure out what they had done to deserve the beating.

"You are required to pay 100 to 150 liras in schools to buy the outlines of the courses. They come with a gray wolf emblem. State employees with leftist leanings take a medical or annual leave. We cannot go to the police, we cannot go to the hospital. They ask us about our political affiliation. Ten people were knifed during the university entrance exams here, but it was kept from the press. They paint a picture of a peaceful city, while seven or eight people are beaten up everyday in Erzurum. These incidents are written up as ordinary police matters. They may call it a family feud, for instance. There were leftist students in the university until 1971. In 1971, rightists began to spread rumors that the communists in the university were burning the Koran and making girls dance for them. They provoked a large number of people into marching to the university. Not a single window was left intact. Everything was in shambles. Leftists have been trying to tell the people here that such incidents would happen, but nobody listened. The extreme right is capitalizing on the local people's conservatism. Right-wing activists are stirring up people's emotions with a rhetoric about the nation, country and Sakarya.

"The right-wing takeover of the university started when Kemal Biyikoglu was the university rector. He was assigned here by a Council of Ministers decree before the university was given autonomy. Once the university became autonomous, he lost the elections and his job. To protect himself and to hold on to his job, he let the rightists organize. Rightists took advantage of it, and eventually, took over the entire university."

#### The Situation at the University

The RPP and the left outside the RPP describe the Erzurum Ataturk University as an extreme right-wing bastion, but Erzurum Security Director Ismail Kose disputes it. "There are about 10,000 students there. They cannot be all Idealists. They will not let a leftist take a breath here if they were all Idealists," he says. What is, then, really going on in the university?

The Erzurum Ataturk University, inaugurated in 1958, is located on a 40,000-donum campus. It has eight faculties, three higher-education schools and 8,600 students. Its rector used to be assigned by a Council of Minister decree, but in 1970, it was granted autonomy. Its current rector is Prof Dr Hursit Ertugrul who was elected in 1973.

A visitor entering the main building sees before him a portrait of Ataturk in an oval frame with an inscription underneath. It reads, "Let us not forget that COMMUNISM is the Turkish nation's worst enemy. It must be destroyed wherever it is detected."

We asked Dr Ertugrul about that inscription.

"It was put there during Kemal Biyikoglu's tenure," he told us. "We let it stay to avoid the possible political complications its removal may cause."

A large majority of the student body is rightist and NAP sympathizer. There are also NSP supporters, but their number is not as high as the rightists'. There are two groups of rightists, "Idealists" and "Vanguards." We were told that there was some friction between the two groups. That was in 1976, they told us, and there has not been any manifestation of a disagreement in recent times. Allegations that neither the left outside the RPP, nor the RPP-affiliated students were allowed to attend the university were repeated for us several times during our conversations with a number of people associated with the university. The number of leftists who were able to take the university entrance exams under police protection was very few.

Several university officials told us that students with leftist leanings transferred to either the Izmir University or the Hacettepe [in Ankara], even at the expense of losing a whole year.

These officials asserted that students are harassed and intimidated even before they register. "They are halted at bus depots and threatened, and usually put on a leaving bus, if they happen to be from a town or a school reputedly of a rival wing.

The extreme right wing is in full control of the university, but a large majority of the teaching staff is either moderate leftist or democratic.

The university employs 573 workers who are covered by the Social Insurances Program. They were once members of a union in the Turk-Is [Confederation of Turkish Labor Unions], but were forced to transfer their alliance to the MISK [Nationalist Trade Unions Confederation].

Rector Hursit Ertugrul, while discussing the situation with us, remarked that he had no objection to the existence of ideologically rival groups, as long as the ideological contention did not turn into a physical confrontation.

RPP people in Erzurum complain that partisanship has permeated state offices from the highest level down to the lowest steps of maintenance employees. Our impressions substantiate the allegations. The provincial chief of security, for example, while refusing to publicly name the political party he belongs to, admits that his political beliefs would make him a rightist and a nationalist.

Erzurum National Education Director Cemalettin Dedebeoglu's replies to our questions gave an indication of how thoroughly politicized state agencies have become in the province. Dedebeoglu said at one point, "There are a large number of NAP-affiliated teachers in Erzurum. They do nothing that may be construed as a violation of the freedom of education. There were about 30 or 40 teachers from other provinces appointed to the schools in Erzurum. I believe 10 of them obtained a medical report and never showed up.

"I, myself, am a JP member. I have 10 deputies, three NAP and six JP supporters. One is a former RPP man, but he has been disenchanted with that party for some time now. There are no pressures on my deputies."



Erzurum's education chief, while refusing to acknowledge any rightist pressure, was meanwhile putting together the necessary documents to apply for a gun license. An officer from the security department showed up to collect the papers, even as we talked.

JP: 'The NAP Exploits Nationalism'

JP Provincial Chairman Cihat Gungor had the following comment on the situation in Erzurum:

"Interest groups provoke the incidents, and they do it easily in the absence of something to believe in. The biggest threats to Turkey are Kurdistan and communism. The extreme right is said to have collected a fortune. Political parties have not been disciplined since the 1961 Constitution was adopted, even though the 1961 Constitution bans the formation of political parties based on religious beliefs, fascism, or racism. The teaching cadre in the Erzurum Province is pro-NAP. We were told that the instigators of anarchy are outsiders. The NAP is exploiting nationalism, not religion, here and everywhere. Extremist left-wing proponents refuse to come here anyhow. The government must deal with lawbreakers without distinguishing between the right and the left, only then, anarchy may be halted. When someone breaks the law, he should not be able to count on someone to protect him."

NAP: 'The NAP Exploits Youths'

NAP Provincial Chairman Bahattin Sarioglu accused the NAP of "exploiting youths under the pretext of fighting against communism." He said:

"The Idealists were able to control the city because the state tolerates them. When Gun Bazak was killed, the rightists here forced the shopkeepers to close their stores, even though the city was under martial law. There are 45 young Jordanians in the university. Rightists have been pressuring them to stop conversing in Arabic even among themselves. The NAP, initially, made inroads among the youth through its declarations of a war against communism. This being as sensitive an area as it is, it did not have much trouble taking the youths to its side. Now, those young men and women are working on their families to support the NAP.

"There has not been a leftist party in Erzurum outside the RPP. Once in 1969, a young man by the name of Argun Muceldili established a TLP local, but they beat him up and closed the party local. The state's inability to extend its services to the east has been a very important factor in the turn of events in this area. Go to the Baybuzpasa Train Station and take a look at the Eastern Express, and then, at the Anatolian Express. You cannot get an animal to stay inside the Eastern Express. We receive no state services here. Are we the citizens of this state, or not? If we are not, clear us out of the map. Idealists took over every single school here once the JP was in power. They even control the Imam-Hatip School [where religious teachers and officials are trained]. Both sides are armed. Everyone should be armed, if you ask me. It may serve as a deterrent. We'll soon be another Texas."

[Reference is to gunfights and lawlessness as portrayed in westerns.]

#### Erzurum Governor's Evaluation

Cahit Bayar, governor of Erzurum, had been assigned to his position 7 months earlier. He believes that "economic problems" are the major contributing factor in the anarchic events. He gave us the following assessment of the political scene in Erzurum:

"The periodic drought we have here exacerbates the unemployment situation. We have a growing number of jobless workers seeking employment in government offices. The right wing appears to be stronger in the city. People of Erzurum have a world outlook rooted in history. They have been through a painful Russian invasion. Families have a rightist structure. There is a strong patriarchal system. Incidents in Erzurum occur between rival youth groups, not political parties. Youths support political parties, as if they were soccer clubs. Nothing violent will happen in Erzurum if only the political parties would stop allowing their concern for votes dictate their every move."

[6 Aug 80, p 6]

[Text] Hatay

Headlines about the escalating violence in Hatay have become a familiar part of the front page in most of the Turkish dailies. These headlines alone are sufficient to tell the story of Hatay: "Violent Incidents on the Increase in Hatay Counties," "Killings Increase in Iskenderun," "Police Station Bombed, Three Officers Dead," "Non-Alawis Can't Leave Their Homes in Samandag," "Several Crates of Ammunition Used Each Night in Antakya," "Antakya Mayor Sukru Gucluk Calls for Martial Law," "RPP Hatay Parliamentarians Complain of Biased Governor, Security Chief," "Is Former DEV-GENC Ankara Chief Shot When Fleeing, or Tortured to Death, Before His Body Was Left on the Street?" "Eight Perish in Kirikhan Fire, Was It Sabotage?" "Coffee-house in Dortyol Fired Upon, Two Youths Die," "Eighty-Four Detained Overnight in Iskenderun, All But One Released."

The commander of the 6th Corps and the Adana Region Martial Law Administration was chairing a meeting of the governor of Hatay, director of security, county administrators and county chiefs of security, while in Ankara the National Security Council went into session. When the two meetings were over, the Hatay Province was added to the list of Turkish provinces under martial law.

The incidents reported in the press really happened. In some of the counties of Hatay and in the central county of Antakya, the conflict is not only the right versus the left. There is also an Alawi-Sunni battle going on there, but oddly enough the individuals who are doing the actual fighting are neither Alawi nor Sunni. There are several groups of youths, self-styled protectors of the Alawis' rights and interests, who are fighting against another group of youths supporting the Sunni community. The conflict between those two opposing groups not only disturbs the peace, but also irritates both the Alawi and Sunni communities and widens the gap between them even though they have lived together peacefully for years and years.

The older generation in both communities has no doubts about each other's feelings, and they trust one another, but they are not sure about their children. The younger generation is deeply involved in the fight. That is why, the two communities cannot live together any longer.

When Did the Conflict Start?

How and when did the Alawi-Sunni conflict begin? It would be more realistic if we reversed the question and asked who instigated, and then, fueled the conflict.

Major changes took place in the settlement and influence patterns in Hatay when it was released from the French mandate and became a republic.

There were Alawis in Hatay even then, and at that time, they worked as sharecroppers on the land owned by Sunnis or Armenians. In 1938, Alawis who had land or other real estate were less than 5 percent of the general population. Most of the Alawis were in the very low income bracket. Sunnis were far better than the Alawis, economically speaking. Administration was in Sunni hands also. Armenians controlled the commercial life of the community. Landowners were largely Sunnis, with a small number of Armenians among them.

When Hatay became a republic, Armenians, who had sided with the French during the drive for independence, and who had other worries, preferred to move to Syria, leaving their land behind.

The Republic of Hatay distributed the land left behind by the Armenians among the landless Alawis. Sunnis moved into the field of commerce to fill the vacuum the Armenian emigration had left behind. Over time, Alawis also purchased some of the land Sunnis put up for sale when they moved to the commercial field. Sunnis, who were farmers and were not interested in commerce, remained as farmers and held on to their land.

Alawis, having become landowners, prospered. They worked hard, saved their money and purchased more and more of the land owned by the Sunnis. Sunnis, who had switched to commerce, remained in the commercial field, but a majority of them failed to make it to big time. Some stayed as small shopkeepers, and some, perhaps disenchanted with commerce, moved to the services sector. Today, Alawis generally control the agricultural sector in the area.

The Alawi-Sunni conflict, then, cannot be attributed to long-suppressed grievances about repression, or discrimination. If that's not the reason, what is it?

Everyone we talked to gave us a different answer. One factor mentioned more often than any other was "internal and external forces." When asked to identify these forces, everyone had an idea different from the others'.

Ilhan Sozgen, governor of Hatay, charged that neighboring Syria was conducting an ideological propaganda campaign in the area. Everyone knows Syria is the instigator, he said. When you couple the Syrian campaign with the illegal organizations, you have the whole picture.

According to Director of Security Necati Cetinkaya, a handful of kids are turning the streets into a battleground. There is no Alawi-Sunni problem. People are making a mountain out of a molehill. What do you mean people are moving out of certain wards? There is no such thing. It is a communist lie.

Governor Sozgen admits that people are moving out of certain wards in droves. "Wards are totally cut off from each other," he adds. "Sunnis can't live in Alawi areas and be certain of their safety, and vice versa. Certain people started the whole thing, and certain people are encouraging it now." Who are those certain people? External forces and illegal communist organizations. What do they do? They organize the Alawis. Who are organizing the Sunnis? The governor evades the question. "I oppose the right as well as the left. I am impartial."

The mayor of Hatay is an RPP man, Sukru Guclu. Mayor Guclu, who used to be a small shopkeeper, had a different perspective on the situation. "I am a Sunni, but I am not anti-Alawi. I am unhappy about the behavior of the governor and the director of security. Liberated zones began to appear soon after those two came here. I don't believe that Syria has anything to do with the situation. We have right-wing terrorists, as well as communist terrorists, and those two groups are at the bottom of the incidents. The police does not have the strength to battle them.

The man-on-the-street is much harsher in his criticism. Ordinary citizens of Hatay stress that Alawis and Sunnis, who have lived peacefully together for years, could not have changed overnight. "If only the politicians would stop making speeches



and encouraging the illegal groups, there will be none of these extreme rightists or leftists who are the sole perpetrators of anarchy here. Our politicians keep on patting them on the back. We have nothing to fight over. They put up our kids against each other. Ask anyone over 30, he'll tell you. None of them have done these things."

Lawful rightist and leftist organizations refuse to talk about the situation, let alone debate it in public. A young man from the DEV-YOL told us that he did not have the authority to make a statement. The only comment we could elicit from the PYA was, "We'll talk, and we'll talk in our language, when the time is ripe," while several youths from the IYA [Idealist Youth Association] retorted, "What is there to talk about? People who are not Turks or Moslems cannot live in this land."

#### Divided Wards

The River Asi flows through the city of Antakya. It crosses downtown Antakya in front of the municipal building. The area where the municipal building is located is known as the Cumhuriyet Square. Across from the municipal building, on the other bank of the River Asi, is the Ulu Mosque. A bridge spans the river before the municipal building, with one leg in the Cumhuriyet Square, and the other in front of the mosque. Now, stand on the bridge, face the square and follow with us the division of the city's wards among the sects and the factions. (The section on the division of the city is missing.)

The status of the counties is quite different. In Antakya, the capital of the Hatay Province, leftist factions have a tacit understanding that they will be "independent" in propaganda and agitation operations, but united in action." It appears that they take this tacit agreement seriously. However, "unity in action" covers Antakya alone; there is no unity in action or elsewhere in the other counties. A single faction is in control of each county, with the exception of Iskenderun.

In Lazkiye, it is the PYA. There are also several leftist parties--TSWP, TWPP and TLP. The walls in the county are covered with PYA slogans, with a sprinkling of the DEV-YOL's signature under several classical slogans.

Iskenderun is a small coastal county on the common border with Syria. It is, reportedly, also the main entrance point of contraband arms.

Lazkiye is another of Hatay's counties. The faction in control there is the People's Liberation.

Reynanli, another entrance point of arms smuggled over land, is a relatively small border county. There are Alawis, as well as Sunnis, in Reynanli. The NAP-affiliated IYA is organized in the county. The strongest leftist faction seems to be the DEV-YOL.

Kirikhan is the most peaceful county of Hatay. Leftist factions do not have much about in Kirikhan. The only leftist organization is the TLP.

Finally, Iskenderun is the only county where leftist factions are fighting among themselves while waging a battle against the NAP-affiliated IYA. Iskenderun, with population larger than the provincial capital Antakya's, is the most developed and modernized county in Hatay.

## Groups Ignore Schools

There are 20 Lycees which follow a regular curriculum. We could not obtain a figure on lycee seniors, but we did learn that only a small percentage of them made it to a higher-education institution. The Hatay National Education Directorate told us that there has not been a survey since 1973 when only a 6 percent of the graduates from Hatay's lycees were able to enter a higher-education institution.

The province has 557 primary schools and 72 intermediate-level schools. There are also several private schools, one of them a lycee.

The schools which do not follow a standard curriculum, and the number of students attending those schools are as follows:

Industrial Vocations Lycee: There are two of them, with a combined student body of 1,724.

Vocational School for Girls: There are four such schools, with a combined student body of 1,129.

Commercial Lycee: There are three commercial lycees, with a combined student body of 2,367.

Imam-Hatip Lycee: There are six such lycees, with a combined student body of 2,557.

There are also three regional boarding-schools, four practical arts schools for girls, two advanced vocational schools and one educational institute. There does not seem to be a prevailing ideology in the educational institute, nor are there any struggles or fights among ideological groups, mainly because the groups and factions in Hatay do not put any emphasis on organizing on the student level.

According to the information we received from the Hatay National Education Directorate, there has been only a few occasions where classes have been called off due to instructor shortage, a problem common to many other provinces. However, the deputy director of national education told us that the very frequent changes in the teaching staff undermine the orderly continuation of courses, which he sees as the major contributing factor in the generally poor performance of lycee students.

There are 128,387 students in Hatay's elementary schools, but only 19,915 in its lycees, indicating a disinterest in formal education beyond the elementary level. Only one out of eight students coming out of an elementary school continues his education through a lycee. We were told that this percentage used to be higher in previous years, but that there is a growing trend among families to allow their children to continue schooling beyond the elementary level.

[7 Aug 80, p 6]

[Text] Turgutlu

Turgutlu is a picturesque county of Manisa. A very large number of its people are either farmers or engaged in a type of work that utilizes the soil. There are 52 brick factories of various sizes which employ 5,200 people. In other words, the factories alone provide sustenance for no less than 20,000 people.

In recent years, Turgutlu has been enveloped in an atmosphere of terror. The name of this lovely county appears on every list of terrorism centers in Turkey. Its people are predominantly rightist.

People of Turgutlu contend that the source of anarchy is elsewhere. They accuse the security forces of prejudice, and argue that the biased attitude of the police only serves to drive the existing small factions into organizing to wage an effective battle against the state's forces.

'Nalan, The Scorpion'

The mention of Turgutlu in these days brings to mind, not the beauties of the county unfortunately, but the anarchy and the terrorist incidents in the county. Turgutlu is the home of a group called "Countyman," which allegedly has been involved in countless killings, bank robberies and bombings.

Who are they, these "Countyman"?

Some say it is an organization formed by the extreme rightwingers from the county. It is, in fact, they say, an arm of the TPLP/F which is behind a long list of killings and equally nefarious acts in Izmir, as well as Manisa. There are also some who claim the Countyman is a group of militant youths originally organized in the east, but moved westward and settled in the Aegean region with the sole objective of spreading anarchy.

Police records refer to the group as the "TPLP/F-Countyman." One of its members, Mehmet Or, the records indicate, is to be shot, if he does not surrender peacefully. Some members of the Countyman have already been sentenced in absentia. They include several familiar names--Nalan Gurates, also known as Nalan, The Scorpion, Metin Sert, Irfan Huyutemiz, Osman Karabulut, Bedrettin Sinlak, Nurten Huyutemiz and Gonul Bayar.

Violent incidents in Turgutlu began in 1977 and have continued to the present.

Some of the recent incidents include the raid on the Turgutlu Security Directorate by an armed group and killing of two policemen and two nightwatchmen. Eleven people in all lost their lives in Turgutlu in terrorist incidents in 1979. In 1980, the number of dead so far is two, one of them a police officer.

Governor

Fahrettin Turan, governor of Manisa, said he finds it inexplicable that anarchic incidents in Turgutlu have been increasing in intensity, even though the county is the prime beneficiary of the state's large-scale investments in the area.

He contended that teachers are the main source of anarchy in Turgutlu. "There is no doubt that the teaching staff in schools is the main source," he said. "We did some checking and found out that a number of misguided teachers have been assigned to our area. We suspect that those teachers took advantage of a momentary breakdown of communications in the administration. Its population includes newcomers--immigrants from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. They are still in a period of adaptation to their new surroundings.

"Presence of a large number of newcomers has created conditions favorable to anarchic provocations. Turgutlu's proximity to Izmir makes it a preferred target of terrorists. The native population is opposed to anarchy. The general feeling transcends party lines. People have been scared into submission. They retreated to their homes and left the town in the hands of about 500 people. That's how the leftist factions took over.

"Finally, we decided to fight back. The security forces, with the assistance of the townspeople, captured many of the anarchists red-handed, and the rest, by careful investigative work."

Necdet Menzir, director of security in Manisa, echoed the governor's beliefs that Turgutlu people generally are not involved in, nor condone, anarchic incidents, but he also observed that recently "young people, however small in number, are getting involved." Workers are totally against such movements, he added, and blamed the "misguided attitudes and beliefs of certain teachers" for Turgutlu's problems.

The security chief briefed us on what has been taking place in the county.

"The youths who operated as "The Countymen" in 1976 were students in the Industrial Vocations School. A number of students from the Diyarbakir Educational Institute joined them, and in 1977, they appeared as a branch of the TPLP/F. Later, they went into business on their own.

"Their area of operations cover Turgutlu, Manisa and Izmir. They have a unit all the way in Diyarbakir, and another in Antalya. They recruited some militants and went into action. A number of them were captured, some sent to prison, but some of them escaped and remain at large to this day. Perpetrators of the recent incidents are the members of the Countymen Revolutionary Liberation Organization, we have determined that as a fact. We have eliminated one wing of the organization by the arrest of 34 people from the Remzi Karakas group.

"Over time, a rightist group was formed to oppose the Countymen. Most of the active members of the rightist group are now in prison. You have to deal with this sort of thing in an even-handed manner. That is the only sure way to establish peace and order."

The security chief's primary complaint is the apparent failure of authorities to keep the arrested or convicted felons in prison. "A man responsible for the murder of a policeman and an assistant police superintendent walked out of jail untouched," Menzir related. "No one's fooling anyone. Everybody in this country knows who is behind which movement. Let those people step aside, and let the state deal with the lawless elements. The state is strong enough to take care of them. They charge that the police force is badly divided within. If that were the case, how come we are catching the culprits, whether they are leftists or rightists?"



## Mayor

Arif Pektaş, mayor of Turgutlu, describes the people of the county as "a community dedicated to democracy." He contends that if it weren't for one militant of the Revolutionary Liberation Organization, by the name of Remzi Karakas who killed several people, Turgutlu will be known as the most peaceful county, which it, in fact, is.

Mayor Pektaş sees the problem as an absence of a strong national government. "We need a strong government which will not allow a concern for votes rule its decisions; otherwise, no one will be able to deal with anarchy," he said. "We need a government which will not care whether it will lose votes, but will concentrate on eradicating anarchy and terrorism."

## RPP County Chairman

The RPP's provincial chairman is Unal Harcanoglu, an attorney. He sees the situation in a different perspective. He directed his criticism at the JP's minority government and the security forces.

Harcanoglu pointed out that the county was overrun by shantytowns which, he says, provide a haven for lawbreakers.

He also charged that the county's former security director was closely associated with the Idealist Youth Organization. It encouraged terrorists, he said. The RPP official also believes that the people of Turgutlu are not in any way involved in terrorist incidents which, he contends, are perpetrated by students.

He said, "There were several people who became involved in anarchic incidents when they were staying in Turgutlu. Our party never gave them encouragement regardless of their motives or aims. Besides, I will never allow them to become a part of the party." Harcanoglu believes that "individuals not involved in productive activities" inevitably become involved in terrorism.

## JP County Chairman

The JP's county organization chief is Mustafa Bahceci who believes that the anarchic incidents in Turgutlu are somehow related to the incidents in Izmir, rather than Manisa. "In Turgutlu, as in many other parts of the nation," he says, "terrorists use 'hit-and-run' tactics and escape to neighboring provinces with relative ease. Not a single worker or citizen from Turgutlu have been involved in any of those illegal events. Our students are fully conscious of what is going on around them. There have been, indeed, student incidents, but they were on a small scale, and did not result in death. I cannot deny that certain groups are training our youths and will soon turn them into 'death machines'."

## NSP County Chairman

The NAP's top man in Turgutlu, Suleyman Yavasca, asserted, "Everything that has happened so far in our county was the doing of the left wing." Yavasca warns that things would get really bad if the right wing were to retaliate. "We never get involved. Our national chairman wants us to remain calm, and that is what we are doing."

There is only one solution, Yavasca argues, and that is "an alliance between NAP President General Turkes and RPP President General Ecevit." An alliance that will be formed at the top will spread towards the base, he says.

#### Conclusion

Turgutlu, despite the problems it has been having, appears calm. Measures are in effect to keep it peaceful and safe for its residents. Its people--workers, peasants, government employees, students and shopkeepers alike--take a certain pride in their close cooperation with the security forces.

#### Usak

Only a few people dare go out on the street after dark in Usak. There is a voluntary curfew in the city between the hours of 2000 and 0500.

The 17 March 1977 killing of two students marks the beginning of an escalation in terrorism in the Province of Usak. People of Usak also became involved in that incident. There was an instance when the townspeople rose against the security forces. Today, anarchy is not over in Usak, if anything, it is spreading.

The 1980 death toll is high. Ismail Bahadir, NAP county chairman, was the first man killed in 1980. Then, came the killings of Ali Koseoglu, NAP provincial chairman, Abdullah Budak, a police officer assigned to the security directorate, Ethem Kaya, secretary of the RPP's provincial organization and a member of the Usak Municipal Assembly, and Mahmut Kandemir, a JP member. That makes five people in as many months. A chronology of events follows:

\*On 31 March 1980, NAP County Chairman Ismail Bahadir was killed during an armed attack. The police say there are no suspects.

\*On 24 April 1980, NAP Provincial Chairman Ali Koseoglu, an accountant by profession, was killed during an attack while working in his office. The police was unable to find the criminals.

\*The third attack of 1980 was directed at the police. On 27 April, Abdullah Budak, a police officer stationed at the security directorate, was killed by two gunmen as he was chatting with friends in a grocery store. The file on this murder also went into the "unsolved" box.

\*The fourth murder of 1980 occurred on 10 May in the Ulubey County. Mahmut Kandemir, a JP member, lost his life in an armed attack. The police apprehended a leftist,

identified as Osman Zeybek, and charged him with Kandemir's murder. The police announced that he was also one of the gunmen who attacked and killed Koleoglu, the NAP official.

\*On 20 May 1980, RPP Provincial Secretary Ethem Kaya, also a member of the Usak Municipal Assembly, was shot and killed by two right-wing students. Mustafa Alta and Murat Gormez from the Buca Educational Institute were taken into custody as suspects.

Governor Kemal Sensoy and Director of Security Zafer Aras minimized the significance of the murders. The governor stressed that there has not been any violence to speak of in the province. "The source of the incidents you mention is outside the province. Usak's people have never been violent."

Security Director Zafer Aras insisted that his police force is strong enough and armed well enough to crush any anarchic incident as soon as it starts. He failed to explain, however, why his men have never carried out an operation in the Sekerevler ward, the Garaj area, or in the so-called "liberated zones" of the right-wing groups, or why there has not been any followup on the complaints about those areas.

It is a fact that there is not a single left-wing activist group based in the city of Usak. Most of the city's youths spend their leisure time in the parks and tea-gardens situated in the heart of the city. There are, though, teams from left-wing organizations based in neighboring provinces. Their operations in Usak consist of hanging the posters of DEV-YOL, DEV-SOL and the People's Liberation. On the opposing side is the Turkist Revenge Brigade, described as a powerful right-wing group, which, we were told, has been terrorizing the area.

JP Provincial Chairman Zafer Yuluklu, an attorney, has an office in the Garaj area, one of the rightist liberated zones. We were stopped three times and questioned about our presence in the area before we reached Yuluklu's office.

In reply to our questions about the NAP and the IYA, Yuluklu remarked that he cannot think of anything more commendable than being an Atatürkist and nationalist. He was also highly critical of the RPP's provincial organization and accused the RPP people of sheltering extremists under the party's umbrella. "They have made life in Usak unbearable," he said.

The JP's local official believes that the climate in Usak is conducive to anarchy.

"Usak became a hotbed of anarchy during the RPP's term in power. The absence of authority is the major cause of it all. We sorely missed the state's authority under the RPP government," he said.

"Basically, there is no right-wing problem in Usak. The right wing does not have a cause to promote in Usak. Even so, rightists had to arm themselves from time to time because there was no state authority. The JP, however, has never joined them.

"Our argument is that the state has to demonstrate its existence. There is a state, we know, but where is it? It has to show its face. It has to treat its citizens in an equitable manner.

"We are trying to convince the people of Usak that the state is their protector, but the leftist groups in Usak have strayed off their original goals, as they have done in other parts of the country."

RPP Provincial Chairman Emin Sancar, in return, blamed the JP's minority government for the escalation of violence. The government's selection of police and educational officials for positions in Usak has not been in Usak's favor, he contended. He put the blame for the recent violent events on the provincial JP administration, and on the NAP and the IYA. He said:

"Usak is rapidly moving to a point of explosion. The heightenin tension does not bode well."

Deputy Mayor Ibrahim Gokcay, meanwhile, holds the JP minority government responsible for Usak's problems in recent months. He accused the governor and the security director of prejudiced behavior. "The state's security forces must carry out operations, we don't have any argument about it, but these operations must be directed at lawless elements on both sides. They must search a JP man's house, as well as an RPP man's. They must investigate right-wing organizations, as well as left wing."

"The government's biased attitude and social injustices are laying the groundwork for terrorism."

"There is a vast labor sector in Usak. Rising prices are making life difficult for workers. There are 160 industrial plants here. We have workers here who have to work, and are working, for 5,000 to 6,000 liras a month. The JP government's refusal to see the issues in the social perspective, that is, its failure to acknowledge the imbalance between social classes, and its insistence on categorizing people into groups of 'friends' and 'foes,' are fueling anarchy."

NSP Provincial Chairman Fethi Aslan claims members of illegal organizations outside of Usak come into town, stage violent incidents and leave town as easily as they come in. The NSP official emphasized that the source of terrorism is not in Usak. He was also critical of the antiterrorism measures in effect. "They are far from adequate and will do nothing to stop terrorism," he said.

The prosecutor of the republic in Usak is Ugur Ibrahim Hakkioğlu. He sees educational institutions as a possible source of terrorism.

"We cannot, and we should not, discuss these anarchic incidents. We have no authority," he said, but went on to express his personal views. "I believe that an Atatürkist education is essential not only in Usak, but nationwide. An Atatürkist education can be supplied by teachers who believe in Atatürkism. I am certain that anarchy will die down if we adopt an Atatürkist curriculum."

There is a large number of lycee-level schools in Usak, including a girls' vocational school and an İmam-Hatip Lycee. The latter school, reportedly, follows the standard curriculum and has not had any ideologically or religiously inspired disturbances.

Usak had a fair number of students graduating from its lycee-level schools in the 1978-79 academic year--a total of 1,654 graduates from 14 schools. What is more admirable is that a high percentage of these graduates scored high in university



entrance exams and were accepted into higher-education institutions. The academic achievement of Usak youths is an indication of a large enlightened sector's presence in Usak.

Usak Governor Kemal Sensoy, in arguing that point, said, "We can put the anarchic incidents in Turkey in three groups. One is separatist-inspired, the second, sectarian-inspired, and the third, which is what we have in Usak, is the group of incidents, the roots of which are elsewhere.

"The enlightened class is predominant in Usak, but Usak has not been able to escape the effects of the general trend in the country.

"Usak is an important transportation juncture, which makes it accessible to travelers from all directions. Certain elements come to town, carry out their operations and move out. In the meanwhile, they sway the minds of certain groups here.

"None of our workers have ever been involved in violent incidents. Union leaders and political party officials have remained aloof from lawless events and elements. There have been several student incidents, but none can be described as a mass movement."

[ 8 Aug 80, p 6 ]

[Text] Kirsehir

The curfew in Kirsehir lasted only 24 hours, but the residents of the town will remember 25 June 1980 the rest of their lives, because that is when their life pattern changed. Now, no one goes out after sundown and in some parts of the city the head of the household stays up all night with a gun on his lap. When you raise your voice on the street, you startle, even alarm, people.

#### Asikpasa Incident

The "first social incident," as it is called here, occurred on 25 June 1980. It began as a clash between rival factions at Patlas. Three people were shot and wounded, but reports that reached the city had the chairman of the Idealist Road-Two shot to death. A group of rightists went on a rampage in the Asikpasa ward. Windows were broken, shops were looted and houses were stoned. Yilmaz Turker, an employee of the Directorate of Finances, were shot to death downtown. When the night fell, the left wing set up barricades on the approaches to Asikpasa, refused entrance to the security forces and told everyone in the ward to remain in their homes.

The commando unit arrived from Nevsehir at about 0100 and established control. The governor of Kirsehir proclaimed a 24-hour curfew at 0600 hours.

On 26 June, security forces entered leftist-dominated wards, among them Kayabasi, Killik and Asikpasa, and took 47 people into custody, charging them with instigation to riot. Later, formal charges were brought against five of them.

Kirsehir Governor Metin Sarioglu interprets the 25 June disturbance as a "social" incident. He sees it as an attempt by illegal leftist organizations to start in Kirsehir incidents similar to those in Corum and Kahramanmaraş. JP Provincial Chairman Kemal Hotomanoglu, meanwhile, says, "There wasn't a single man or youth from Kirsehir in the two groups involved in the incidents. That is what's so tragic about it. People who are not from this town are trying to control the destiny of the town and its people."

Following the 25 June incidents, police received tips that the individuals they were looking for were in hiding at the Carikli Farm. The operation at the Carikli Farm resulted in the arrest of 47 people. A teacher, identified as Barbaros Kadiroglu, was found dead. Five suspects were said to have fled to the mountains.

The left wing gave us a different version of the day's events. "There are no more than 15 houses at the Carikli Farm. They picked up everyone, women and children included. They accused them of having set up an illegal organization and tortured them for a week. Barbaros Kadiroglu, the teacher there, was ready to surrender, but was shot all the same."

Official records show that there were some disturbances in Kirsehir earlier than June. They happened on 23 April, 1 May and 19 May—all three are holidays. Kirsehir Governor Sarioglu explained the incidents with an analogy:

"If the extreme left is a beehive, the extreme right is a man who puts a stick in the hive and disturbs the bees. The angry bees rush out and sting not only the guy

with the stick, but all the innocent bystanders in the vicinity. There is a way to destroy angry bees. The state has the authority to do it, but the rightists won't give the state a chance. What we are doing is chasing the bees in the streets. It is very difficult to take them under control. The state, rather, the state's forces, can easily put them out of action."

On 2 June 1980, a Vanguard member, Selahattin Gurbuz, of the NAP-controlled Kirsehir Educational Institute, was killed.

The student's death was initially attributed to a heart attack, but the forensic report listed the cause of death as severe beating. The case has not been solved.

On 5 July 1980, Arif Kilic, allegedly a former member of the illegal SYA, who had eventually joined the right wing, was taking a leisurely walk on the Ankara Street with his cousin visiting from Ankara. A shot was fired, the visiting cousin saw Arif Kilic fall on the ground. He was shot by a sniper using a 14-mm gun.

IYA Chairman Ismail Erdogan claims Kilic was a victim of a leftist factional feud. "They are trying to pin it on us," he complained. The illegal left, on the other hand, claims that a rightist, by the name of Turgay Copuroglu, is suspected of killing Arif Kilic.

Each faction interprets the incidents in Kirsehir from its viewpoint and points an accusing finger at its archrival. However, both sides charge that there is torture and accuse the governor of "bias," and of acting as "the government's man, not the state's."

NAP Provincial Chairman Salih Ezer accuses administrative officials of "taking the side of the traitors." NSP Provincial Chairman Ismail Dincer says, "We can't prove that the governor is an NAP member, but it is apparent that he represents the current government, not the state."

JP Provincial Chairman Kemal Hotomanoglu comes to the governor's rescue, "He is an unaligned civil servant. He is the state's governor."

Kirsehir's RPP Mayor Orhan Baycan told us that the governor is generally away when violence breaks out. He said the police goes out of its way to pin the responsibility for the incidents on the left, and accuses the police of coercion and torture. Similar charges were voiced by illegal leftist organizations, while the right-wing spokesmen accused the police of "favoring the left."

#### Governor's Denial

Governor Sarioglu categorically denies police torture allegations. "Both sides, but primarily the left, have been charging police brutality on a large scale. I've listened to them. They make the accusations, but they do not bring a single evidence or proof to me. These cruel accusations are designed to frustrate the police in the performance of its duties."

Mayor Baycan of the RPP claims teachers are under tremendous pressure in schools. The charge was repeated by leftist spokesmen. The governor is not happy with the situation in schools either. "We have searched for Atatürkist, centrist administrators who would stand up for the state," he said. We could not get anyone to come

here. They don't want to come. They don't have the nerve to accept the job of running our schools."

### Ethnic Differences

Kirsehir does not have a sectarian problem. What it has is a mixed ethnic group which is regarded with ambivalence. These people came to the area 35 to 40 years ago and, initially, settled in 38 villages, but have, at times, moved into the city. Townspeople do not seem to have anything against them, even talk of them in laudatory terms, and most of the time do not treat them as a separate group, and yet, "the ethnic problem" does raise its head now and then.

The governor remarked, "Separatists are making their future plans with an eye on this ethnic group. The extreme left is counting on them. People over 30 have no part in this movement. They are resolute and by the side of the state."

The mayor, on his part, denies the existence of ethnic discrimination in the leftist sector. JP Provincial Chairman Hotomanoglu says "the latecomers" are fully assimilated. He points out that there have been frequent intermarriages. The NAP provincial chairman calls them "the children of the same nation, regardless of the different backgrounds," but NSP Provincial Chairman Ismail Dincer insists that there is ethnic discrimination. "Politicians are pulling one group to the right and another to the left to perpetuate anarchy."

'What Is It That We Can't Divide up?'

IYA Youth Auxiliaries Vice Chairman Ismail Erdogan issued a call to the left, "What is it that we can't divide up? Come, put your guns down, let's reach an understanding. Let us not cover our pretty town with blood."

What is it that they cannot divide up? They have already divided up schools, streets, roads, marketplaces, coffeeshouses, wards, even the state offices, between the right and the left.

On the right, there are the IYA, IPA [Idealist Patriots Association], Ideal-One and the Turkish National Student Union. Meanwhile, on the left, the illegal organizations with chapters in Kirsehir are the People's Liberation, People's Struggle, PRYF [Patriotic Revolutionary Youth Federation], HALK-DEV [Revolutionary People's Association], DEV-YOL, Rizgari, Liberation, Roje Vare [probably Roja Welat, i.e. Freedom Road], the TCP and the KAWA. Leftist spokesmen say the entire left is united in the struggle against fascism. Rightists reply, "The entire right is united on the matter of the integrity of the nation and the state."

There is no problem in figuring out which organization controls what part of the town. The wallwritings tell you who "liberated," or is in charge of which ward.

When you see a gray wolf emblem, which has not been crossed out, or scrubbed, in an effort to erase it, or wherever you see the slogans "Long Live Turkes," "Commander Turkes," "This Land Will Be the Communists' Graveyard," or "Islam, the Only Road," you know you are in rightist territory.

If the wallwritings say "Death to Fascists," "Long Live Our 18 May Struggle," "Police, Gendarme Attacks Will Not Daunt Us," "Freedom to Erdal Eren," or "Revolution, the Only Road," with the signature, or the emblem of an organization, you are in leftist territory.



[9 Aug 80, p 6]

[Text] Diyarbakir

"Diyarbakir has been picked as the capital of the state an ethnic group will set up in eastern and southeastern Turkey. All foreigners, regardless of which country they come from, will have to present a passport to enter the city."

That was just a piece of rumor making the rounds, but it kept going through our minds as we entered Diyarbakir. Besides, rumor or not, it had been widely debated and had set off a series of speculations.

Diyarbakir Mayor Mehdi Zana's welcoming words to us were, "Are you here to ask me about the passport business?" when we were ushered into his office.

"There is provocation wherever you go. As for this story of proclaiming Diyarbakir as the capital city of a new state, all I can say about it is, it is disgraceful. I'll tell you what it is all about. Someone opened a restaurant. He brought his cook from Ankara. He wanted to publicize that fact, so he called the restaurant that name [presumably, The Capital City]. He, eventually closed that restaurant and left. Later, someone else opened a restaurant and used the same name, but the police had him change it."

Whoever we talked to in Diyarbakir insisted that there was no basis to the stories, and to all other rumors about Diyarbakir. They suspect, people who moved away from the city may have started the rumors which were apparently exaggerated a little each time they were passed on from one individual to another. By the same token, when you are in Diyarbakir, you get that feeling of uneasiness, as if not everything is peaceful and orderly.

Its economy is based on agriculture and animal husbandry. The institutions of tribalism, large landholders and sheiks are alive and dominant in Diyarbakir, particularly in its villages.

Large landowners, with one or more villages, still control the destiny of every person in their villages, and also the migrants from the village to the shantytowns in urban areas. Landowners are also responsible for the welfare of their people. They take care of their public and private affairs, ranging from business with the state to health problems. The absolute authority over the rural sector is still either the landowner, the sheik, or the tribal chieftain, who generally live in the cities and work in the commercial sector.

Virtually the entire population of Diyarbakir is composed of ethnic tribes. The majority of the urban residents are Sunni. There is no apparent Alawi-Sunni division. There are allegations of Sunni highhandedness in villages where Alawis are in the minority.

The JP, RPP, NSP and several leftist parties have a following of various sizes in Diyarbakir. Mehdi Zana, the mayor of Diyarbakir, is a former TLP member and won the election with the support of the city's leftist organizations.

The NAP closed down its local chapter in Diyarbakir. The NAP provincial chairman had already moved to Ankara by the time we arrived.

It should come as no surprise that in a structure of this type a number of leftist organizations and factions, which support "ethnic" and "eastern" problems, were able to organize and expand rapidly. The RECA [Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Associations] is the most visible of these organizations. Its activities were halted under martial law, but "it is still in control of various organizations and unions," we were told. Other active organizations include PKK [also called, Kurdistan Labor Party], KAWA, KNL [Kurdistan National Liberation], Partisan, Ala Rızgari [Red Liberation], Apoists, DEV-YOL, PYA and Liberation.

The terrorist incidents in Diyarbakir are the manifestations of the power struggle among these leftist sections. In the recent 15 months or so, casualties of this power struggle included 10 policemen.

Security Director Yahya Soy disclosed that no less than 100 people apply daily to get a gun license. Asked if there are any "liberated" zones in Diyarbakir, he replied:

"There are wards where the police have not been able to enter, but it is due to the horrible state of the roads in those areas. Several good-for-nothings, apparently, made some statements to a newspaper, and we have not heard the end of it since then. They say, there is no right wing in Diyarbakir. There is. The JP and the NSP elected parliamentarians in Diyarbakir. The only party not represented here is the NAP. Just because the NAP is not organized here, are we going to say there are leftists only?"

Erdogan Sahinoglu, governor of Diyarbakir, said the rumors about their city upset the people of Diyarbakir.

"There are illegal leftist organizations everywhere. They have active illegal groups in Istanbul, Ankara and in other major cities. Why are only the ones in Diyarbakir described as separatist?"

"Everyone here is a Turkish citizen. Granted there are ethnic differences, but I doubt that the organizations here are out to dissect Turkey. The source of the separatist movement is outside Turkey. The region has open wounds. Some people are trying to stage certain schemes and intrigues here, but the people of the region are on the side of the state."

The RPP and the NSP

RPP Provincial Chairman Hasan Deger was out of town. The party secretary for the central county, Ferhan Durmaz, answered our questions. He believes the killings are the work of agents who have penetrated the organizations.

Durmaz was concerned about the fragmentation of the leftist vote in Diyarbakir. It gives a great advantage to the JP and the NSP, he said. The extreme left, he added, has been trying to penetrate the RPP. Therefore, Durmaz said, the RPP must come to power one way or the other, so that it will be in a position to protect the youth of the country and the state against these extreme trends. He also expressed concern about police brutality. People taken into custody are tortured indiscriminately, it has to be stopped, Durmaz said, because people who have nothing to do with terrorist incidents are tortured also.

NBP Provincial Chairman Abdurrahman Ozbek's complaints center on what he called "the neglect of eastern Anatolia." He said the state must move at once to remedy the situation as pertains to social justice. "That is the way to put an end to the agitation and turmoil none of us want."

He insisted that we write about the sorry state of affairs in the state offices in Diyarbakir. People who have business in state agencies are told by officials to get permission from martial law authorities before they apply for anything. The NBP official says operations of state agencies are at a virtual standstill, and he claims martial law is only a pretext to avoid working.

"Commercial activity is just about dead," he said. "The only way to bring it back to life is for the state to come forth with some vital investments."

TWPP Provincial Chairman Ramazan Duman was severely critical of the RECA, Apoinis and Shivanists [followers of Sait Shivan], who manage to accomplish what fascists could not, he charged.

#### The JP Is Quiet

JP followers in Diyarbakir are sticking to a self-imposed "no comment" policy in regards to terrorist incidents. Even the former officials of the local JP chapter refused to go beyond saying that people were concerned, agitated and largely helpless, and that the state will have to do something about the anarchy. The only other opinion they expressed was their belief that the terrorist operations are planned outside.

Lieutenant General Cemalettin Altinok, commander of the Army Corps and the Martial Law Command, is the responsible authority for Diyarbakir and the neighboring provinces.

Having heard repeated complaints and comments about torture of detainees and suspects, we had that issue on our minds when we visited the general. He must have read our thoughts because he began the conversation by inquiring whether we had come to the region to investigate the torture allegations.

"Torture is inhuman. We abhor it. Under no circumstances would we condone it. No one would give such an order," the general said, but admitted that rumors were rife.

"I would like to cite an instance. An individual recently jumped from a building to make his escape. Right away there were allegations that he was pushed off. Why should a suspect already in custody be thrown out of a window? If he is found guilty, he is going to be punished anyhow. What would anybody gain by pushing him out of a window?"

General Altinok insists that illegal organizations are exploiting the pure feelings and good intentions of young people.

The "hit-and-run" methods of the terrorists, the general said, pose a difficult problem. The military reacts immediately, but must operate under severe restrictions.

"When circumstances warrant it, we surround the area and conduct a search, but it is not as easy as it sounds. We must not disturb the public, and that's not always possible. We, naturally, upset people when we conduct a search, even though we try to disturb them as little as possible."

General Altinok also made the following comments:

"Close to 6,000 people have been taken into custody so far in our area. In dealing with the type of incidents we have here, people suspected of involvement must be detained. If further investigation warrants it, they are brought before a court in the shortest time possible. Suspects found guilty by the court remain in prison, the rest are released. Out of the 6,000 people detained so far, close to 5,000 were released. It goes to show that we are doing what the law dictates. We are trying to separate the guilty from the innocent. The decision on guilt and innocence is up to the courts. We do not go outside the law, we enforce the law. Time will solve a lot of these questions because our people do not support or condone these activities."

#### Urfa

The capital city of the Urfa Province was tense. The political situation there is very sensitive, so much so that none of the political parties want to take a public stand in regards to armed factions.

The only political parties represented in Urfa are the RPP, JP and the MSP. The NAP, which received 12,000 votes in the last elections, closed up shop, and the provincial chairman, we were told, left for military service.

The land reform movement was the last hope of the vast Harran Valley and its people, but now that the law has been shelved, there does not seem to be much that the area people can look forward to. People who know the area say the land reform movement triggered the awareness process among the area's youths. It, in fact, served as the catalyst that got a movement going against the politically and economically powerful large landholders who, for centuries, have filled the vacuum of authority left by the absent state.

The Apoist movement initially attracted youthful followers by the virtue of its anti-landholder stand. But judging by what we were told about Apoist operations, the movement must have veered off its original purpose.

RPP Provincial Chairman Ahmet Alagoz told us oppression by landholders has by no means abated. "People painfully feel the absence of the state," he said. The RPP official was reluctant to discuss terrorist incidents.

Mayor of Urfa Feridun Yazar ran into a shower of bullets last September as he left his home with his wife and a municipal official. All three were seriously wounded. The mayor was operated on twice and somehow survived.



Mayoral positions have become the center of a political struggle in the region. The mayor of Hilvan, a JP man, resigned after repeated threats to his life. Ceylanpınar Mayor Kemal Ocalan of the RPP had a rougher time.

It started with an armed attack. He miraculously came out of it unscathed, but his driver died. Some time later, the mayor's aunt was killed. One of the factions was definitely after him. Finally, the mayor got on the municipal administration's loud-speaker and announced that he had realized his mistakes and pledged to work for the people and follow the right path. His public announcement was interpreted as a statement of concession to the faction after him.

The impact of terrorism on the Urfa community is better illustrated in an incident related to us by a labor union official.

Muslim Cihanbeyli, chairman of the YSE-IS (Road, Water and Electricity Workers Union), affiliated with the Turk-Is, told us, in summary:

"There are two unions at our place of work. The management favors the Village YSE-IS, and to discourage workers from joining us, they send our members to Siverek for road repair in villages. The villages are located in an area where terrorism is at its worst. They want to scare us into quitting. We told the administrative officials, we'll go to those villages, but we'll go all together, all the repair teams go together, we said. We are not going there in tiny groups and repair the mountain roads under unsafe conditions. We'll wait and see what happens."

Governor of Urfa Akin Gonen said he was encouraged that the real estate values in Siverek, another terrorist territory, have leveled off. The governor interprets the break in the downward trend in real estate values as a harbinger of better days ahead. "Only recently, a huge apartment unit in Siverek sold for 400,000 liras," he informed us.

The governor sees other signs of improvement in the situation. In Hilvan, for example, in the past no one would dare shake hands with a government official. Now, the governor said, people come forth to talk to visiting cabinet members. His comments are the following, in summary:

"People are feeling more secure. I don't take a bodyguard with me when I walk around in Urfa. The press picks up some reports and prints them without any effort to investigate their accuracy and to verify them. A blood feud incident is presented to the public as a political murder."

The situation in Urfa is not half as bad as it is in Siverek or Hilvan. It is, nevertheless, far from peaceful. People are restive, as they are in other provinces, Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir among others.

Apoists have infiltrated the central county. There have been several incidents. The Gendarme Commando Brigade's presence in the central county and its apparent command of the situation, however, are big factors on the plus side. Besides, Apoists prefer to operate in rural areas. Then, again, there are not one but several sources of anarchy in Urfa.

The governor insists that the incidents in and around Urfa are part of a "separatist movement," nurtured and conducted by an outside international source. He called our attention to several of the recent incidents:

A police superintendent and a policeman, reputedly of opposing factions, were killed within days of each other. Some of the incidents described to us sounded incredible. Looting, rape and murder, we were told, are commonplace in Urfa's villages. What made them so incredible was the gruesome manner in which they were carried out.

Who is, or are, behind these events?

One group says large landholders' men are involved, while another group puts the blame on the Apoists.

When the crops on the hundreds of thousands of acres around Urfa are ready for harvesting, combine harvesters are called in from Kayseri, Sivas and Adana. Owners and operators of these machines, having heard about the terrorists in Urfa, refuse to set foot in the region. Crops are left in the ground.

Several farmers near Urfa, reportedly, resorted to force, stopped a harvester passing by, forced its driver to cut the crops, then, paid the man and sent him on his way.

Combine harvesters were on everybody's mind during the period we spent in Urfa. Government officials were feverishly searching for ways to have the machines ready for harvesting before it was too late to save the crops.

The martial law commander in Urfa told us that, having investigated a very large number of killings in the area, military officers had acquired enough experience to tell which faction had been involved in a killing by the manner in which it was committed.

He assured us that the military did its best to avoid taking sides in its operations, including the searches conducted in villages, but whichever side was hurt by the search immediately accused the military of favoring the other side.

Some of the incidents described by the commanding general were hard to believe. Rival factions in villages raped each other's family members. Each side, invariably, accused the other for every incident. There were areas in Urfa and Siverek where one or the other faction could not enter. An extensive investigation in such areas could bring many things into light, but no one dared take a chance.

General Demir, the martial law commander, told us that a growing number of peasants opposed separatist, secessionist operations and refused to join in, with the full knowledge that, in doing so, they were headed for more trouble than they can handle. He said:

"I want to tell you people are coming forward to give us information. They tell us who did what and where. It is an encouraging development, a very welcome sign. People are taking a stand against anarchy."

## Siverek

The bus driver informed us that he won't be taking us into the town. "I have to let you off on the highway. They shoot at the buses that go into the city."

We got off the bus as the rest of the passengers watched us with a look of disbelief in their eyes. The driver stepped on the accelerator as soon as the doors were closed behind us. The bus had gone only a couple of yards when we heard gunfire from the direction of the town. We must have thought of the same thing at that instant: This must be Siverek.

Here is a familiar scene in Siverek: Gunfire, roar of panzers, youths hurrying to various directions to get out of the way: a young man, covered with blood, is taken to hospital. When we witnessed one of these familiar scenes, the young man covered with blood was wearing a municipal policeman's uniform.

Hakki Bucak is the older brother of JP Urfa Deputy Celal Bucak. He is about 50 years old. He had a fine looking handgun on his belt. He was wearing a shalvar [loose pants], made of a good quality black material, and a matching vest. "We need the state," he said. "The entire family has been living like prisoners for months."

"Our villages are raided, our homes are sprayed with bullets, our belongings are carted away. There is no security of life. Our crime is siding with the state. Not even the security forces help us. The Apoists won't let anybody from our tribe sell anything."

"How come the Apoists have so much power?"

"The press started it all. They put the news about them on the front page with huge letters. The press turned them into so many Barzanis. I know why, but I cannot say it. Their aim is to divide the country. They are getting instruction from abroad. The headquarters is at Derik."

After we left the Bucak family, we stopped by the police station several hundreds of feet away. The Carsi ward police station was filled to the brim with policemen. We learned that policemen could not go into town and patrol the streets; that is why, whether on duty or not, they gathered in the station and sat around.

Siverek did not have a security director. A deputy assistant was filling in. Police officers assigned to Siverek hardly ever reported to duty. They either took a medical leave, or resigned from the force.

The windows of the station house were blocked one-half of the way with a brick wall on the outside, and with a bullet-proof sheet of iron on the inside.

They had us listen to a tape-recording of a gunfight between the Apoists and the supporters of the Bucak tribe. The sound that the bullets made could easily be heard in the silence of the night. They told us that one can easily tell by the sound of the bullet what type of gun was used. They also told us that some of the guns used that night were not available even to the Turkish army.

Getting killed has become an unavoidable in Siverek.



The death toll? No one knew for certain. Official figures were way off the mark. Not even the families of the activist youths knew the fate of their children. It was very difficult to keep track of who, or how many, were killed.

### Tribal War

A small county where life was quiet and peaceful until 2 years ago resembles the Texas of a century ago. How did it happen?

Most of the people we interviewed trace the source of their plight to the power struggle between two tribes. The struggle—one with a long past—was between the Paydaslilar tribe, which sent to Ankara one of their own, Celal Paydas, as an RPP deputy, and the Biyiklar tribe, which supported the JP. The climax of the feud came 3 years ago. There were frequent clashes and both sides had casualties, security forces which intervened lost several gendarme privates. Meanwhile, the Apoists got into the act.

Who are the Apoists?

Apoists are a group led by Abdullah Ocalan from the Halfeti County. Ocalan set up his organization when he was a student at the Political Sciences Faculty, then, expanded and strengthened it in the Urfa area.

"Apo" means "uncle" in the language of the area, but the group known as the Apoists are actually members of the PKK, and proponents of the party's separatist policy.

The Apoists joined the Paydaslilar-Biyiklilar tribal war on the side of the pro-RPP Paydaslilar. The tribe responded the Apoists' help by supporting their organization. As time went by and the tribal feud took on larger proportions, the Apoists moved forward to the front line, pushing the Paydaslilar tribe to a secondary role in the struggle.

Meanwhile, a number of other tribes were becoming indirectly involved in the fighting. Seeing it as a golden opportunity to weaken their rivals, these tribes secretly supplied arms to one side or the other. Thus, the struggle between two tribes eventually spread beyond the boundaries of Hilvan, and when the Bucak tribe overtly entered the battle, the scene of the battle shifted from Hilvan to Siverek.

### Migration Begins

The hostilities, which had been churning just below the surface in Siverek, then came out into the open.

In addition to the county's own gendarme unit, Siverek has the First Gendarme Commando Division and an armored unit known as the Martial Law, Law and Order Division, maintaining security in the area. Reportedly, violence has shown signs of subsiding.

Can anyone lead a normal life in a county torn apart by violence? The answer has got to be no. That is why, people are moving away from the county. There are no official figures, but if there were, they would be high. Some say close to one-half of Siverek's 60,000 people locked up their homes, abandoned their fields and groves, and moved out of the county. They moved to Urfa, or went further away to Adana, Mersin, even Bursa where they set up wards of their own.



[10 Aug 80, p 6]

[Text] Adana

And finally, Adana.

Year 1978: Number of incident, 704.

Year 1979: Number of incidents, 1,138.

Year 1980: Number of incidents, 801, as of 15 June.

Here are a few of those incidents:

11 September 1979: Professor Dr Fikret Unsal is killed.

28 September 1979: Director of Security for Adana Cevat Yurdakul is killed; police officers stage a protest.

28-29 November 1979: Students in intermediate-level schools walk out of classes.

4 December 1979: The Careers in the Construction Field Lycee is occupied, protesters and security forces clash.

24 December 1979: TOB-DER teachers boycott classes.

15 February 1980: Spontaneous rallies held in the city; strikes break out in several factories.

29 February 1980: Leftist terrorists force shopkeepers to close their stores and cut off electricity in Adana.

#### A New City

Adana, the heart of southern Anatolia, has undergone a substantial structural change over the past decade. "Adana is not what it used to be," is one lament you will hear very often in the city. Independent observers say, "The rapidly developing commercial and agricultural sectors and the booming industrial sector have turned Adana into a brand new city. There are about 150 factories of various sizes, employing 60,000 workers. In the planting and harvesting months, close to 150,000 agricultural laborers pour into the city."

#### Migration

Observers say there has been a population influx into Adana from every province in the eastern Anatolia region. The initial wave of migrants--an estimated 300,000--came from eastern Anatolia and settled in the wards of Anadolu, Sarican, Kiremithane, Daglioglu, Barbaros, Mirza Celebi, Meydan, Sumer and Yurt.

The comparatively smaller second wave was from southeastern Anatolia. An estimated 100,000 moved into the Kurtulus, Doseme, Yamacli, Gunesli, Zillidede and Yesilyurt wards of Adana. Then, there were close to 50,000 people from central Anatolia and a large number migrants from the province's outlying counties and villages. Observers

estimate that between 50,000 and 100,000 people migrate to Adana annually. The city is expanding by leaps and bounds on its southwestern and northern edges.

### Sources of Anarchy

The mechanization process in the agricultural field results in a surplus of manpower, while industrialization in urban areas creates a demand for manpower. These developments are accompanied by a population explosion and an influx of migrants from rural areas into the cities. According to impartial observers and administrative officials, what happened in Adana was a textbook example of this phenomenon. Hundreds of thousands of people arrived in Adana, settled in a haphazardly fashion generally in areas close to their places of work, thereby creating unplanned settlement units where, for a number of reasons, they had to remain. These settlements, like their counterparts in numerous other urban areas, had no substructure, or sanitary or social facilities, and gradually became little towns more densely populated than Adana itself. Deprived of an access to education, they soon became a natural prey for anarchy.

People from the same region or province stuck together, settled in the same ward, and together, they perpetuated their regional traditions and practices. Their lifestyle set them apart from the rest of the society--not only from the urban circles near-by, but also from the community around them. They felt alienated, which led to factionalization. The situation offered an opportunity to illegal organizations and politically motivated groups to move in.

The rapidly increasing population and the equally rapid spread of unemployment, observers say, turned these settlements into breeding grounds of anarchy. Police records show that people arrested in connection with anarchic incidents were generally unemployed.

At the present, 65 percent of Adana's population is literate, but a large percentage of the literates do not have a healthy educational background, and consequently, are unable to make a realistic assessment of daily events, and are highly susceptible to suggestions from militant groups.

In Adana, there are 20 middle schools, 11 lycees, 6 private lycees and 16 vocational schools, which come to 53 intermediate-level schools, with a combined student body of over 45,000.

There have been incidents in schools, usually at the instigation of partisan teachers and school administrators. According to impartial school officials and observers, the administrative mechanism in schools has generally grown impotent, and disciplinary rules have become inoperative.

When controls slacken, it becomes easy to arrange ideological seminars and forums, to conduct wallwriting and poster-hanging campaigns, and to organize resistance movements. Militant students take over schools, neutralizing the authority of teachers and other officials, and in some cases, going as far as abolishing traditional practices, such as reciting the allegiance to the flag and singing the national anthem.

The youth sector, whether in or out of school, is deprived of proper guidance. They do not have any facilities for cultural or sports activities. They are left on

their own, unprotected against ideological inculcations in coffeehouses. Their desire to participate in some form of action is stimulated. It is a well-established fact that coffeehouses serve as headquarters for the planners and organizers of anarchic incidents.

### **Ideological Factors**

High-level security officials argue that lack of hope, or something to believe in, breed terrorism. An individual, or a group of individuals, who feel caught in a limbo, blindly embrace an ideology imposed on them, and become staunch soldiers in a movement aimed at destroying the existing order.

"Participants in terrorist action are believers, who walk down a road of no return and are willing to sacrifice themselves for their objectives. They use modern weapons, new methods of operation and communication equipment.

"Trade unions come under the influence of political philosophies and participate in movements. They influence the thinking of their members and the society in general.

"In Adana, politicians, obsessed with getting more votes, protect the people who support them and totally ignore the ones who do not. It is another factor in the spread of terrorism and anarchy.

"The country's geopolitical location makes it a target of the powers trying to establish their hegemony on the region and on the world. Presence of a strong state in the region is not in the interest of these powers. That is why, they are attempting to divide the country internally. They do it by supplying arms and equipment to extremists and separatists.

"Meanwhile, Armenians, who are settled in various foreign countries, continue to provoke the ethnic groups here and to supply arms and money."

### **Administrative Mistakes**

"Laws are not enforced fully, properly and evenly at all levels of the state. Biased practices, unnecessary delays undermine the people's trust and faith in the state. State employees, usually inadequately educated and economically repressed, become willing collaborators of socially prominent people who want to have things done easily and rapidly. These practices have an adverse effect on youths and on unemployed people in particular.

"Frequent changes in government mean frequent changes in the assignments and location of state employees. That's another source of anxiety, and also a major contributing factor to the indifferent and apathetic attitude of the employees in public organizations. No wonder public services are slow-moving and the state's effectiveness is eroded.

"Existing problems have become more serious as a result of the professional inadequacy, the biased attitude and indifference of officials in schools and in other institutions which provide the basic public services. The end result has provided justification for mass action.

"Politically motivated amnesty legislations, the relative facility of escape from prisons, and reluctance to carry out death sentences have encouraged criminal elements to return to crime. Punishment has lost its 'exemplary' and 'deterrent' nature because it has become very easy to avoid punishment."

#### The Status of Education

"The curriculum in our schools does not respond to the demands of the day, and moreover, academic life is frequently disrupted. There is no preparation for the next level of education. Students are left in a limbo at the end of each school year.

"Ataturk's principles and revolutions have long been cast aside in many schools. These revolutions and precepts have never been explained to the younger generation. We have trained a generation of students who do not know Ataturk or Ataturkism, and who are devoid of a national spirit.

"We have also failed in the training of our teachers. The new teachers we assign to schools to teach our children do not have a sound and meaningful educational background themselves."

Considering the rate of increase in Adana's population, the city's police force is totally inadequate and undermanned. The proper ratio is 4 percent, but in Adana, it is 1.4 percent.

The training period of our police officers is too short to accomplish anything. A police officer is assigned to duty after a year's training. The reform in the training of police officers must begin at the beginning, with the selection of the trainees. The selection must be made carefully from among capable and physically appropriate candidates.

Manifestations of partiality in attitude and behavior breed distrust. Factionalization, lack of discipline and indifference among the members of the police force must be eliminated at any price.

There is not a sufficient number of police stations. A shortage, if not the absence, of modern equipment, weapons and supplies severely limits the effectiveness of the police force. Elevation of a policeman's social and economic status in the society is also essential, if we are to enhance his personal prestige in a community.

#### Inadequacy of Prison Facilities

Prisons suffer from an authority vacuum. Administrators generally have no control over the institution they are expected to run. Personnel are divided into camps, each group providing protection and favors to inmates in the same camp.

Prisons have come to foster anarchy. Some inmates have been discovered to conduct ideological indoctrination courses. Prisons are inadequate capacitywise also. Some facilities house two or three times more men than they were meant to.

The martial law command of Adana, Kahramanmaraş, Gaziantep, Adiyaman and Hatay Provinces revealed the following facts in a communique on 23 June 1980:



"One prison facility with an 800-inmate capacity is now housing 1,700 inmates, some of whom have to sleep in the halls, making it impossible to close any of the doors leading to the dormitories. There is no way to exercise proper control over the inmates, or to conduct a headcount. Guards are divided into two political camps, each camp helping its proponents among the inmates. The prison facility in question is divided into two liberated wings. Guns and other weapons abound on both sides. There have been torture instances, even lynching. There is a vast administrative vacuum. Unless strict measures are taken, killings and mass breakouts will continue and may even become more frequent."

# GUIDE TO ABBREVIATIONS

English abbr.	Expansion in English	Expansion in Turkish	Turkish abbr.
Apoists	Followers of Abdullah "Apo" Ocalan [Also known as Kurdish Labor Party]	Kurdistan Isci Partisi	Apocular
Ala Rîzgari	[Literally, Red Liberation]	Kizil Kurtulus	Ala Rîzgari
CIRAK-DER	Apprentices' Association	Ciraklar Dernegi	CIRAK-DER
Countymen	Countymen, Revolutionary Liberation Organization	Kasabalilar, Devrimci Kurtulus Orgutu	Kasabalilar
DEV-GENC	Turkish Revolutionary Youth Organi- zations Confederation	Turkiye Devrimci Genclik Kuruluslari Konfederasyonu	DEV-GENC
DEV-KUR	Revolutionary Liberation	Devrimci Kurtulus	DEV-KUR
DEV-SAN-DER	Revolutionary Artists' Association, Wandering Minstrels Organization	Devrimci Sanatcilar Dernegi, Halk Ozanlari Orgutu	DEV-SAN-DER
DEV-SOL	Revolutionary Left	Devrimci Sol	DEV-SOL
DEV-YOL	Revolutionary Road	Devrimci Yol	DEV-YOL
DING-DER	Revolutionary Worker-Peasant Youths Association	Devrimci Isci-Koylu Genclik Dernegi	DING-DER
DISK	Turkish Revolutionary Labor Unions Confederation	Turkiye Devrimci Isci Sendikaları Konfederasyonu	DISK
Enlightenment [-ists]		Aydinlikcilar	Aydinlikcilar
Freedom Road	See Roja Welat	Ozgurluk Yolu	Ozgurluk Yolu
HALK-DER	Populists' Association	Halkcilar Dernegi	HALK-DER
HALK-DEV	Populist Revolutionaries Association	Halkçi Devrimciler Dernegi	HALK-DEV
HAMAL-DER	Porters' Association	Hamallar Dernegi	HAMAL-DER

English abbr.	Expansion in English	Expansion in Turkish	Turkish abbr.
HUR-GENC	Freedomist Youths Association	Hurriyetci Genclik Dernegi	HUR-GENC
Idealist	Members of Idealist organizations or associations	Ulkucu kurulus ve dernekler uyeleri	Ulkucu
Idealist Hearths	Idealist Hearths [Association]	Ulku Ocaklari [Dernegi]	Ulku Ocaklari
Ideal-One	Idealist Educators and Teachers Association	Ulkucu Ogretim Uyeleri ve Ogretmenler Dernegi	Ulku-Bir
IPA	Idealist Patriots Association	Ulkucu Yurtseverler Dernegi	UYD
IYA	Idealist Youths Association	Ulkucu Gencler Dernegi	UGD
JP	Justice Party	Adalet Partisi	AP
KARS-DEV	Kars Revolutionaries Association	Kars Devrimciler Dernegi	KARS-DEV
KAWA	[Name of a legendary Kurdish hero]	KAVA	KAVA
KHEA	Kars Higher Education Association	Kars Yuksek Ogretim Dernegi	KHEA
KLP	Kurdish Labor Party [See PKK and Apo]	Kurdistan Isci Partisi	KIP
KNL	Kurdistan National Liberation	Kurdistan Ulusal Kurtulus	KUK
KOY-KOOP	Union of Cooperatives for Village Deve- lopment and Other Agricultural Goals	Koy Kalkinma ve Diger Tarimsal Amacli Kooperatifler Birliđi	KOY-KOOP
KPRYA	Kars Patriotic Revolutionary Youths Associated	Kars Yurtsever Devrimci Genclik Dernegi	KYDGD
Liberation	Liberation	Kurtulus	Kurtulus
MISK	Nationalist Labor Unions Confederation	Milliyetçi Isci Sendikaları Konfederasyonu	MISK
MIT	National Intelligence Organization of Turkey	Türkiye Milli Istihbarat Teskilati	MIT

English abbr.	Expansion in English	Expansion in Turkish	Turkish abbr.
NAP	Nationalist Action Party	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi	MHP
NSP	National Salvation Party	Millî Selamet Partisi	MSP
Partisan	Partisan	Partizan	Partizan
People's Liberation		Halkın Kurtuluşu	
People's Road		Halkın Yolu	
People's Union		Halkın Birliği	
PKK	Kurdish Labor Party [Also known as Party of Kurdish Workers in Turkey]	Kürdistan İsci Partisi [Türkiyedeki Kurt İsciler Partisi]	PKK
POL-DER	Police Association	Polis Derneği	POL-DER
Proletarian Union [-ists]		Emegin Birliği [Birlikçileri]	
PRYA	Patriotic Revolutionary Youths Association	Yurtsever Devrimci Gençlik Derneği	YDGD
PRYF	Patriotic Revolutionary Youths Federation	Yurtsever Devrimci Gençlik Federasyonu	YDGF
RECA	Revolutionary Eastern Cultural Associations	Doğu Devrimci Kültür Dernekleri	DDKD
RPNP	Republican Peasants' Nation Party	Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi	CHMP
RPP	Republican People's Party	Cumhuriyetçi Halk Partisi	CHP
Road of Unity		Birlik Yolu	
Roja Welat	[Literally National Sun; also known as Freedom Road]	Yurt Güneşi; Özgürlük Yolu diye de bilinir	
SII	Social Insurances Institution	Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu	SSK



English abbr.	Expansion in English	Expansion in Turkish	Turkish abbr.
SYA	Socialist Youths Association	Sosyalist Genclik Dernegi	SGD
TAR-IS	Agricultural Workers Union	Tarim Iscileri Sendikasi	TAR-IS
Three World [-ere]		Uc Dunya [-cilar]	
TLP	Turkish Labor Party	Turkiye Isci Partisi	TIP
TOB-DER	Turkish Teachers' Unity and Solidarity Association	Turkiye Ogretmenler Birlesme ve Dayanisma Dernegi	TOB-DER
TPLA	Turkish People's Liberation Army	Turkiye Halk Kurtulus Ordusu	THKO
TPLP-F	Turkish People's Liberation Party and Front	Turkiye Halk Kurtulus Partisi ve Cephesi	THKP-C
TRT-DER	Comprehensive Turkish Radio and Television Employees Association	Tum Turkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Calisanlari Dernegi	TRT-DER
TSWP	Turkish Socialist Workers Party	Turkiye Sosyalist Isci Partisi	TSIP
TUM-DER	Comprehensive White-Collar Workers Unity and Solidarity Association	Tum Memurlar Birlesme ve Dayanisma Dernegi	TUM-DER
TUP	Turkish Unity Party	Turkiye Birlik Partisi	TBP
TURK-IS	Confederation of Turkish Labor Unions	Turkiye Isci Sendikalari Konfederasyonu	TURK-IS
Turkist Revenge Brigade		Turkcu Intikam Tugayi	
TUS-DER	Comprehensive Health Personnel Unity and Solidarity Association	Tum Saglik Personeli Birlesme ve Dayanisma Dernegi	TUS-DER
TwPLA	Turkish Worker-Peasant Liberation Army	Turkiye Isci-Koylu Kurtulus Ordusu	TIKKO
TwPP Vanguards YABA-DER	Turkish Worker-Peasant Party Vanguards Association Foreigners Associations	Turkiye Isci-Koylu Partisi Akincilar Dernegi Yabancilar Dernegi	TIAP Akincilar YABA-DER

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